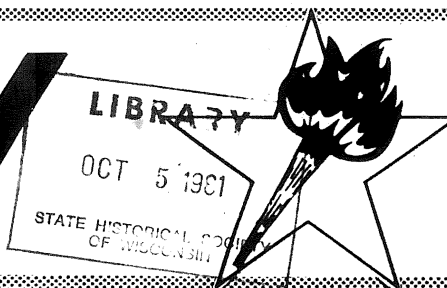


# TORCH

NEWSPAPER OF THE REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALIST LEAGUE

SEPTEMBER 15-OCTOBER 14, 1981

VOLUME 8, NUMBER 8 / 25¢



## SOLIDARITY DAY

### We Demand Jobs and Justice!

#### It's Time for Labor to Fight Back!

Working people face an assault on their rights and living standards that is more systematic, ruthless and far-reaching than anything seen in decades. Clearly, it is time to fight back. This is why the Solidarity Day march is so important. But a single march will not be enough. Solidarity Day must be the first step in a well thought out campaign to organize a powerful fightback against the growing capitalist attacks.

(For coverage of Solidarity Day, the PATCO strike and the tasks of the labor movement, see pages 11-14.)

#### Apartheid Regime Invades Angola

### REAGAN GIVES GREEN LIGHT TO SOUTH AFRICAN AGGRESSION

By WILLIAM FALK

With the backing of the U.S., on August 24 the racist South African government launched an invasion of Angola. Two armed columns totaling 4,000 troops crossed the Namibian-Angolan border and penetrated over 100 miles into Angola. They destroyed dozens of villages and killed more than 600 civilians and 200 Angolan soldiers.

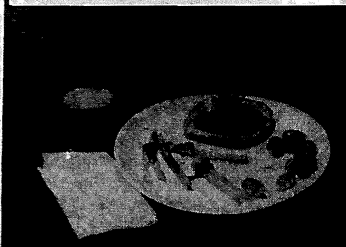
As we go to press, the South African army has withdrawn from its most forward positions but still holds an area just north of the border.

The invasion was the latest use of force by South Africa to illegally hold on to Namibia, also known as South West Africa. Angola is involved because it supports Namibian insurgents fighting South African rule. The South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), the group leading the struggle to free Namibia, uses southern Angola as a home base.

After World War I, Namibia, which had been a German colony before the war, was

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**Gov't Slashes  
School Lunches,  
Welfare**



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**Liberation  
Forces Gain  
Ground in  
El Salvador**



See page 10

**Polish Workers  
Challenge  
Rulers' Power**

See page 15

**SECCION  
EN  
ESPAÑOL**



South African soldiers in Angola during invasion.

**our  
readers  
write...**

Send letters to:

TORCH, PO Box 1288  
New York, NY 10116

## Abortion clinic defended in Ohio

Dear Torch/La Antorcha,  
I and another friend of the RSL went to a demonstration called by the Alliance for Reproductive Rights. The ISO (International Socialist Organization) along with other organizations are involved with this group. The demonstration was called to defend an abortion clinic against attacks by the Right-to-Life organization (a right-wing anti-abortion group).

The picket line was successful. Some 60-70 people came to defend the clinic while only three Right-to-Lifers showed up. Two TV stations gave publicity to the picket line that was set up.

I would like to tell Torch/La Antorcha readers three things about this picket line: One is that abortion clinics are being successfully defended against harmful right-wing groups like the Right-to-Life; the second thing is that Friends of the League are involved in organizing struggles and the third

thing is I want to protest against the Alliance for Reproductive Rights for refusing to allow me to sell the Torch/La Antorcha at the picket line site.

The ISO person who was part of the planning committee of this group told me at the clinic that I could not sell my paper and if I didn't stop, they would force me to quit selling. I protested this threatened action to two ISO people. I said that it was unfair and undemocratic.

It doesn't make sense to me. What harm does it do to anyone to sell newspapers at a demonstration/picket line? Who does it hurt? No one, in fact. It took away from the otherwise good demonstration and picket line.

I am sending a copy of this letter to the Alliance for Reproductive Rights and to the International Socialist Organization.

Yours,  
LM  
Ohio

## Getting out!

Dear Torch,

I want to thank you for the subscriptions to the Torch and Forward that you have provided me with over the past years. And of course for your support toward the struggles of prisoners.

On September 2, 1981, I'm supposed to be released on parole, so after that date you can discontinue sending my subscription here. I'm not just certain where I'll be living after my release, but I'm being paroled to Oakland where I'll have to stay for awhile. In order to continue my subscription I'll list my former address of where I lived prior to being captured. (That's where I'll probably end up living anyway.)

I've already made arrangements with your Los Angeles branch to find out how I can support the RSL once I'm released, so you will be hearing from me in the future.

I thank you all for everything that you have done and for all that you are doing. Take care.

In Unity and Respect,  
Yours Comradely,  
Wadood

## La Migra steps up raids on LA Latino communities

Dear Torch/La Antorcha,  
As expected, after the storm comes the calm or, vice versa, after the calm comes the storm. And this is no more nor less than a reference to the Migra [Immigration and Naturalization Service], which recently has attacked and arrested hundreds of working class people in Los Angeles and in the suburbs, for the crime of appearing to be Latino and poor (read—working class).

In recent days, they have gone marauding in places where Mexican and other Latino people gather, such as markets, liquor stores, restaurants, etc., with the single goal of terrorizing the community and dividing it.

Concretely, on Friday, August 28, in a raid in the streets north of the city, in Burbank, Glendale, and Los Angeles, they arrested some 40 people, with four vans which went in caravan, allowing them to follow however many Latino-looking people who crossed their path.

The period of calm is now over, which was the full year of the census, during which the Migra didn't mess with people. But these attacks are a sign of what can be expected from now on. As the crisis gets worse, the North American government is looking for a scapegoat and it looks like they have found one in a section of the working class of the country, and it appears to be Latino workers.

During the year of the census, the activity of the Migra was very limited and not so open to the public, but now, with Reagan's new "guest worker" plan, which is no more than legitimized slavery, there will be more profound effects and one of these, maybe the most dangerous, is to divide. What? Yes, comrades, it is "divide and conquer" as the old war cry goes. The

government is trying more each day to divide the working class, labeling some sections with names like undocumented or documented, citizens or non-citizens, legal or "illegals," Blacks, whites, yellows or browns, etc., etc. We say this is nothing more nor less than to divide. The international working class is one, which is that which produces all existing commodities. Let them eat shit if they think that with these labels they can divide us!

We call on the Latino community in the factories, garment shops, in the workers' day-and-night schools—in short, wherever Latino comrades are to be found, to spread the word and unite with la raza against this attack. In general, the call is to the entire U.S. working class of all national origins, cultures, or languages. It is a call to the entire class. We only want to especially emphasize that the most immediate unity is within the Latino working class, because here is the heart of the Migra attacks and if we don't achieve this kind of unity to stop these attacks, the others will not achieve it either.

Finally, to finish this report of the Migra running loose, we also call on people who may have more information about other raids and arrests by the Migra to inform us by telephone here in Los Angeles at (213) 385-6029, in order to coordinate and organize the defense of our brothers and sisters who are being or have been arrested by these swine. Another thing, equally important, is to see the connection between these attacks on the Latino community and those on our brothers and sisters in El Salvador, social budget cuts, and the growth of the military. Therefore, the government and its system is our main enemy, representing the bourgeois oppressor in the state which has to be smashed in this fashion to finish off one (yes, one, but we have to wipe out the whole beast) of its oppressive tentacles—the Migra, and wipe out the borders. That is to say, we must tear down the borders that divide us and prevent our freedom.

Does this all sound good? Yes, sure, but it must be repeated over and over that still within the left there are forces, like the Spartacist League, which still don't understand that the anti-Migra struggle, and the demands for open borders and full rights for the undocumented are the same as for a socialist revolution and the smashing of the rule of capital.

Yours in struggle,  
José Zapata  
(The above letter was translated from Spanish.)

\*\*\*\*\*

Dear Torch,

I am writing to inform your readers about a campaign of civil disobedience begun by a group of Los Angeles churchwomen to prevent the deportation of El Salvadorian refugees. On August 20, 15 women briefly delayed two Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) vans carrying El Salvadorians to the airport for deportation

flights. INS agents shoved them out of the driveway, knocking one woman to the ground. When the same group returned September 9 to repeat the blockade, 11 were arrested. All were quickly released, however, and no charges have been filed.

The women, who call themselves "women of conscience," are only loosely organized and have not so far attempted to involve other groups in their activities. Some have been involved in previous pacifist or anti-nuclear protests. Many are Catholic nuns. Their demands are simple: End all U.S. economic and military aid to the El Salvadorian junta and grant political asylum to all El Salvadorian refugees living here. An estimated 100 El Salvadorians are deported from Los Angeles each week.

According to a statement issued by the women: "The continued deportation of El Salvadorian refugees is no less insidious or unconscionable than was the deportation of European Jews in the 1940s. Had individuals of conscience filled the railroad tracks, the trains never could have deported their cargo of precious human life to Germany and its Nazi ovens." The women say they plan to continue their acts of civil disobedience until the deportations stop.

Sincerely,  
Albert Lary  
Los Angeles

## Attica — ten years after the rebellion

Dear Torch,

Join us in the struggle to change the cruelties here at Attica state prison because we are being killed slowly here at the "special housing unit." Our meals are served in dirty trays, the amount of food is not enough to feed a child, let alone a grown man. The medical care is not fit for a dog. I have two teeth that need to be pulled. I have had a fractured wrist for two months, and I don't have any way of seeing a doctor because he too is part of the plot to eliminate this little group that is in the "special housing unit," because we refuse to yield to their brain-washing tactics.

This is why we, the inmates in the special housing unit, plan on going on a hunger strike until conditions here are improved or we die of starvation. We are tired of being treated like animals and we are willing to die like men for what we believe in.

Like 1971, there is no way that this will be swept under the rug. We are tired and we are using the tools available to our cause, and a cry for help.

Don't let the struggle die!  
Marvin Gomez  
Attica victim

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## Reagan Says 'L Gov't S

By MARY RIVERS

On the morning of September 3, the New York Times ran a front page article on proposed changes in the eligibility formula for Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC). The main point of the proposal was that if the assets of your household are more than \$1,000, you'll be kicked off welfare.

That isn't \$1,000 per person, mind you, but total assets of everyone living together as a unit. So, if your total assets are above this limit, you all are living too grand and must sell your possessions, use up the cash, and then reapply for assistance. The old ceiling on assets was a high-on-the-hog \$2,000.

This proposal was accepted by Secretary of Health and Human Services Richard S. Schweiker the night of September 3 and will go into effect on October 1. The usual 30-day waiting period for "public comment" was waived.

### Too many assets?

What are these excesses you would have to sell? Well, the government says you can keep your house and car. What you would have to dump are the "equity value of all other resources, including personal effects, household goods, income-producing property, etc."

This might include your grandmother's handed-down wedding ring and other jewelry, your \$400 color TV (which you would be lucky to sell for a quarter of the price), your kitchen appliances, your kid's tricycle or playthings, a stereo set—the few personal possessions that make life a little bearable.

Also included as assets are insurance policies and burial plots. Most insurance policies, however, have cash values far below what they cost to buy over the years and burial plots (often around \$500-\$1,000 apiece) are often passed down to children. Both of these things together, though, could easily account for the \$1,000 limit—and there you go, zip, off welfare, even though neither of these things makes you self-sufficient.

As an editorial in the September 9 Washington Post stated: "The Congress that went to such lengths to guarantee that the independent oilmen should have the greatest capital gains blessings the government could provide them is worried that a welfare recipient might have, at \$2,000 worth, just too darn many assets."

There is, another change the government is proposing. Up till now, there was a portion of a working welfare recipient's income that was disregarded when a case-worker figured someone's eligibility and benefits. This disregarded income for working poor people was allowed in order to increase the incentive for people on welfare to work, since you could work some,

## Reagan Says 'Let Them Eat Cake'

# Gov't Slashes School Lunches, Welfare

By MARY RIVERS

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but still get some benefits to supplement your income. Now, with the change on October 1, the amount of these "disregards" will be made even smaller, thus counteracting the supposed "incentives to work" these changes were made for.

A final point is that no benefits will be given to strikers.

### Who'll do the snooping?

A good question, of course, is how will they make sure you have only \$1,000 per household? Well, caseworkers would have to visit you every so often to make sure your warehouse of stockpiled luxury items was under the limit.

But what will the cost of this be and will the government find people willing to take on the job?

Originally, they wanted to add up your pots, pans, furniture and clothing, but they didn't end up going that far. Even the administration knew this "would denude people" by forcing them to sell everything, as Seymour Katz, director of income support programs for New York state, said. He also stated it would be "impossible for us to administer," since caseworkers haven't done this for 30 years and "because caseworkers object to playing what they see as the role of police officers and regard home visits as a very expensive way of obtaining information." (*New York Times*, 9/4/81)

The object of all this, however, is supposedly to cut welfare costs by \$1 billion a year. But officials in charge know that "the cost to count personal property and household goods far exceeds the projected savings," as the spokesman for the National Council of State Public Welfare Administrators, a non-profit organization of state officials, said about the changes. (*New York Times*, 9/4/81)

So, though the point of the changes was "to control the cost of the welfare program and to provide recipients with new incentives to work," as the *Times* stated, it's clear these changes won't save money, won't inspire people to work (since there aren't jobs for the vast majority of people on welfare anyway—if there were, no one would go through the agony of the welfare process), nor even keep people working who were supplementing their welfare income.

These proposed cuts are projected to affect (read: cut off) 408,000 families, while some 279,000 families will have their welfare benefits reduced. In other words, about 11 percent of those on welfare will be forced to dine at garbage-can cafeterias and sleep at sidewalk motels.

### Ketchup a vegetable?

And speaking of garbage-can cafeterias, we shouldn't forget about the cuts in the school lunch

program. This federal program, which serves 27 million children, was originally established in 1946 in order to ensure that children, especially from low-income families, could get at least one nutritious meal a day for free or at a low price. (It was actually set up

cottage cheese, peanuts—either whole or in butter form—plus other nuts and seeds, could also be used in place of meat. Instead of bread, cakes, cookies and corn chips could be served; egg used in cake would be credited toward meat/meat substitutes; and juice used in making

student lunches?" (Fortney H. Stark, D-Cal.)

In addition to the billions of dollars in tax cuts and giveaways, how else have the rulers of this country been tightening belts? Well, already in the first six months of this administration there have been many instances of great sacrifice for the common good. Some examples:

- The White House chief of staff lives in a shabby \$715,000 house; Defense Secretary Caspar W. Weinberger has only a \$707,000 house (with a swimming pool); Nancy Reagan spent a mere \$209,508 on new china for the White House.

- Nancy Reagan, when attending the wedding of Prince Charles and Diana Spencer, took along hundreds of trunks and suitcases, a nurse, hairdresser, maids and other attendants to make sure her every need was fulfilled. She also had her designer gowns and opulent jewelry with her—and probably a few guards to make sure it all stayed with her.

- Then there was a black-tie dinner in honor of Senator Paul Laxalt of Nevada, who ran Reagan's campaign. They ate cold tenderloin of beef, while fans powered by a special generator kept them cool.

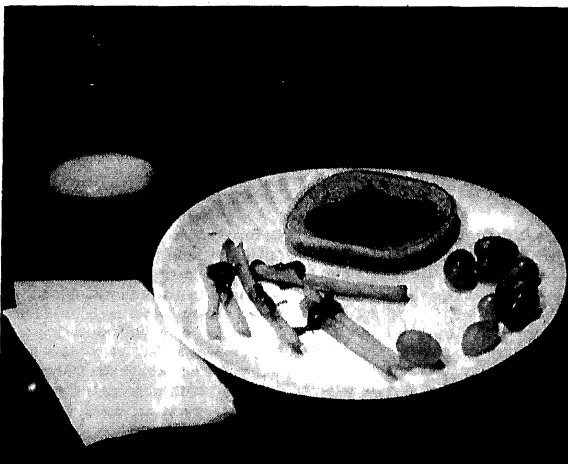
- And how about that birthday party for Nancy? It was held at a Virginia plantation, with food flown in from Chasen's of Beverly Hills. And while a country music band played, Frank Sinatra served the drinks.

- Finally, let's not forget the recent Western-style lawn barbecue held at the \$765,263 home of Secretary of Labor Raymond J. Donovan (who, by the way, had to go through hearings on his corrupt practices before taking his position for Reagan). At this little get-together, there were two bands, a mechanical bull, open pits of roasting pork and beef (with ketchup and relish as vegetables, I'm sure)—and cowboy hats all around.

### Living it up— for our benefit?

But let's face it, they are really doing all this for our welfare. Their conspicuous consumption is really only to entertain us. As Charles Z. Wick, a member of Reagan's "kitchen cabinet" put it, the poor and scrimping masses of today love to see how the rich and lavish of Washington live—just like those who suffered through the Great Depression "loved those glamour pictures showing people driving beautiful cars and women in beautiful gowns, showing that people were living the glamorous good life."

You know, we just have to remember, as Robert K. Gray (co-chairman of the 1981 inaugural committee) said, "This is a fun administration." And they plan to have all the fun they can get—while we live it up on quarters of "Quarter-Pounders." □



A balanced meal under Reaganomics: one ounce of meat, half a roll, six french fries, ketchup (a vegetable!), nine grapes, four ounces of milk.

because potential recruits for World War II were found to be malnourished—not out of the goodness of the government's heart.) Surplus foods from regional areas were used to give the children good basic meals. (This too was done not for kindness, but to stabilize the economy by buying up agricultural surpluses.)

This is now a thing of the past. Congress is lopping off a whopping \$1.5 billion from child-nutrition spending for 1982.

"We are extremely concerned about the nutritional integrity of the school lunch program. The prices of lunches are going up—we think an average of 25 to 30 cents nationally—and now the department is proposing a reduction in the amount of food that can be served," Marshall Matz, attorney for the National School Food Services Association, said recently in the *Washington Post*.

But what does the cut mean concretely? According to the Food Research and Action Center (FRAC), "The proposed new standards will not provide one-third of the daily nutritional requirements of children. On top of this, in many instances, some poor children receive up to half of their daily food from the school-lunch program." FRAC estimated that "the reduced-sized lunch for secondary school students would contain the equivalent of one-fourth of the meat in a McDonald's 'quarter-pounder,' served on half a roll, with six french fries, nine grapes and part of a glass of milk." (*Washington Post*, 9/4/81.)

The federal guidelines also mean tofu (a soybean curd) would be permitted as a meat substitute; yogurt,

jam could be counted as fruit. And—get this!—if ketchup or pickle relish is used, they are considered vegetables (so those six french fries, smeared with ketchup, count as two vegetables!).

### \$209,508 china and a lot of bull

Now, while thousands of people are getting booted off welfare and our children are being put on starvation diets, what cuts are Reagan and Company taking for "the cause"?

Just one example is from an article in the July 16 *New York Times*. It's headlined "House Panel Votes Cuts in Estate Tax and Levy on Gifts" and explains: "...the reductions [in estate and gift taxes] are meant to offset the effects of inflation..."

But what exactly do these "cuts" mean? Let's check it out.

- The amount of an estate not subject to tax went to \$600,000 from the old paltry sum of \$175,000.

- The amount of gifts not subject to taxes has gone from \$3,000 to \$10,000.

- And just how many billions will be saved from these "cuts"? The cost to the Treasury is estimated at \$200 million for 1982; \$2.2 billion for 1983; (nothing listed for '84-'85) and \$5.6 billion for 1986.

As even a Democrat, whose party made up these proposed tax changes in the first place, said: "These items aren't big, but they are so obviously for rich people. Why do we have to throw \$3 billion at really rich children at the same time that we are cutting student loans and

Torchphoto/s. Tomashewsky

# Black Organizations Hold Nat'l Meetings

## Black Workers' Organizing Committee

Over 100 Black trade unionists and political activists attended the second national conference of the Black Workers' Organizing Committee (BWOC) August 28, 29 and 30 at the Essex County Community College in Newark, New Jersey. People came from Chicago, Detroit, North Carolina, Maryland, Washington, D.C., and Boston.



A South African woman at the BWOC conference spoke on the role of women in the struggle against apartheid. Above, a 1957 protest against passbooks.

However, most of the conference participants were from the New York-New Jersey area. RSL supporters attended the conference.

The conference occurred at a time when attacks against Black people are mounting. As the BWOC's conference call describes:

**On every front, hard won gains are being taken away. Our aged are without security; our youth are the victims of every kind of destructive attack and are programmed for failure; unemployment is on the rise; income for the Black family is plunging downward in relationship to white families; while rents, prices and hidden taxes are sky-rocketing. Police murder, racist terrorism, and forms of legal murder such as imprisonment are on the rise, coupled with increased dope addiction. All of these violations of our rights are having a devastating effect on the Black community.**

The conference opened Friday night with a number of invited speakers: political activist and poet Amiri Baraka, revolutionary South African poet Duma, writer John O. Killens, Elombe Braith from the National Black Independent Political Party (NBIPP), representatives from the New Jewel Movement of Grenada and the African National Congress (South Africa) and many others. A message of solidarity from the Revolutionary Socialist League was read to the conference. Hershell Jenkins from the Newark BWOC ended the Friday night rally emphasizing that "the time is NOW to build a National Black Workers Organization."

Saturday morning's session focused on Black women workers. A panel of six women addressed various aspects of the oppression that Black women workers face. As Bernice Washington said, "Black women workers are oppressed as Blacks, as women and as workers." Drawing from her experiences, she

explained that the capitalist system itself is the fundamental cause of this three-way oppression. Other speakers spoke on labor organizing, the struggle for equality, better housing, as well as other issues. A South African woman spoke of the major role African women have played in the struggle against the racist apartheid regime. A brief

discussion followed the presentations.

Saturday afternoon the conference divided into four workshops: Black Workers and the Trade Unions; Two Tasks of Black Workers: Responsibility in the Fight Against National Oppression and in the Fight for Multi-National Unity; Black Workers and the Fight for Healthy and Safe Working Conditions; Black Workers, Unemployment, War and Youth.

The first part of Sunday's session went through the BWOC's program, which was initially drafted last October at the founding conference. This was the first real opportunity for cross-discussion among all the conference participants. Unfortunately, there were a number of questions raised—such as should the BWOC have more of

a revolutionary direction, what should the BWOC's attitude be toward the demand to nationalize under workers' control those industries threatened with plant closings, what position should the BWOC take on the capitalist parties—that were never directly discussed.

Reports from Saturday's workshops concluded the conference. The trade union workshop proposed to initiate a campaign in the unions around investments in South Africa and to begin to form rank and file organizations of all workers to fight for union democracy and challenge the union bureaucrats. A proposal was made from the floor to contact the NBIPP and National Black United Front to propose joint work on the South Africa campaign. All proposals passed overwhelmingly.

The "Two Tasks" workshop proposed mobilizing for September 19 Solidarity Day. The Health and Safety workshop proposed setting up a clearing house to collect information as well as leafletting and holding a forum. All these proposals were approved by the conference.

The "Unemployment, War and Youth" workshop reported their discussions focused on the need for technology to create jobs and develop communities, not destroy them, the need for job training and quality education, the need for mass demonstrations to oppose the military build-up, the need to develop survival programs and the need to break from the Democrats and Republicans.

One of the conference organizers, Ron Washington, commented after the conference: "Overall the conference was a step forward in pulling together a network across the country. The conference consolidated a number of people and pulled in a few people. As we move toward a founding convention in the next few years, we will have a solid foundation. The women's plenary session was good in giving the question major play. There were shortcomings. The workshops didn't come out with a programmatic guide. It could have been better organized. We expected a larger turnout. But we're pulling together a core, step by step." □

## National Black Independent Political Party

The National Black Independent Political Party (NBIPP) held its Founding Congress in Chicago, August 21-23. Almost 700 delegates and observers gathered to debate and approve a charter, to elect officers, and to officially launch the party. The Congress followed months of preparatory work after a conference in Philadelphia last fall.

The Congress elected Ron Daniels and Elsa Brown as National Co-Chairpersons, and Rev. Ben Chavis and Barbara Arnwine as National Co-Spokespersons. Rules of the party specify that each leading post be jointly occupied by a man and a woman. NBIPP has 33 chapters and 16 local organizing committees around the country, and has contacts and members in close to every state.

The party declares that it is needed because the Republican and Democratic Parties have failed Black people. It promises to be a different kind of party—involved not just in asking for votes, but in the day-to-day struggles of Black people. Its immediate plans include participation in the September 19 Solidarity Day demonstration in Washington, D.C., and in campaigns against the tour by the South African rugby team through the U.S. It is also planning to help start food co-ops in Black communities around the country.

The biggest political fight of the Congress was around the role of left parties within NBIPP. A clause in the proposed charter would have prohibited members of other parties from holding office in NBIPP. According to Manning Marable, who handled press relations during the Congress, this clause was replaced and some members of left parties were able to run for NBIPP office.

Resolutions from the workshops touched on all kinds of questions facing Black people. Nearly all of them pointed to the grim situation



NBIPP leader Manning Marable.

facing Black people, and all oppressed people, under the Reagan onslaught. There was great enthusiasm for resolutions calling for armed self-defense against racist terror, and for reparations for centuries of oppression of Black people.

At present, all kinds of forces are welcome in NBIPP, from Democrats and Republicans, should they wish to join, to revolutionaries. It is important for Black people to have this kind of arena in which different political ideas can be put forward and fought out—although if the party fights hard for the interests of Black people, it will find itself bitterly opposed to the Democratic and Republican parties.

Since the Philadelphia conference, NBIPP has been almost completely absorbed in internal business, working out its charter and getting organized. It has had relatively little public presence and has not been involved in organizing campaigns in the community. Now that the founding congress is over, NBIPP faces a crucial period: can it make the turn from internal business, and become an active and leading force in the Black community? The next six months to a year should tell a lot. □

## From N.Z. to U.S. — Stop the Springboks!



In Auckland, New Zealand, over 2,000 anti-apartheid militants fought a furious battle with police on September 12. The demonstrators were trying to break up a rugby game between the Springboks, a South African team, and a New Zealand team. The government mobilized over 2,000 cops, nearly half the country's police force, to stop them.

The demonstrators, wearing helmets and shields, took on the cops with bricks, bats and gasoline bombs. At least 48 people, including 26 police, were injured. Several cops suffered broken bones, and one lost part of a finger. Police Chief Robert Walton called the fighting the worst in New Zealand's history.

Protesters also blacked out television transmission of the game to South Africa by slashing TV cables. Two even flew a light plane over the playing field and dropped leaflets, flares and flour bombs.

The Springboks faced militant demonstrations throughout their tour of New Zealand, which ended with the Auckland game. Prime Minister Robert Muldoon labeled the tour a "disaster."

The racist South African government sponsors tours by "integrated" teams like the Springboks, who have one "Coloured" player on their roster, to dispel worldwide condemnation of apartheid. But anti-apartheid fighters around the world are trying to shut these tours down. Demonstrations against the Springboks are already being organized in the U.S., the next stop for the team. On August 7, New York City Mayor Edward Koch canceled the Springboks' permit to play in a city-owned stadium after police warned that there was a "strong possibility" of disruption. Other games—and protests—are scheduled in Chicago on September 19 and in Albany, NY, on September 22.

DETROIT—white anti-fascists here August 22, 300 people drove to the downtown Keating Square shortly after the Nazis started onto the speaker's podium. The crowd surged forward, shouting at the Nazis got out. They immediately barraged the police station with bottles, and by pushing the demonstrators back, using their force. The demonstrators treated a little.

After a few minutes, the Nazis on the station. The crowd moved a spot above the speaker's podium. The crowd continued to hum at them. The crowd again, pushed from that spot.

AFTER the speaker's truck, the cops tried to attack the people were beaten. Many cops bailed out to provoke.

## Anti-Ba

On August 22, the Indiana Public Service Commission (NIPSCO) announced a new nuclear power plant in Indiana. This marks a major step in U.S. history. The power plant has once construction. NIPSCO's retreat is a victory for local residents and anti-nuclear activists who all opposed.

The Bailly plant would have been the safety of mill people and an environmental disaster. The construction located just outside Chicago, Illinois. The most densely populated country, including 3,300,000 people. Literally next door to the Steel Company plant over 8,000 workers on the edge of the National Lakeshore National area.

## 14 years of opposition

A broad coalition formed to oppose the plant after NIPSCO plans to build it. The coalition included D.

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# Demonstration Halts Nazi Rally in Detroit

DETROIT—Black, Latin and white anti-fascists won a victory here August 22. A crowd of some 300 people drove the SS Action Group, a Nazi organization, out of downtown Kennedy Square in a matter of seconds. This prevented a planned rally by the Nazis. The victory was won over and against 75 Detroit cops who tried to protect the Nazis and who repeatedly attacked the anti-racist forces.

The police brought the Nazis into the police mini-station in Kennedy Square shortly before 3 p.m. When the Nazis started out of the station onto the speakers' platform, the crowd surged forward. Only two Nazis got out. They were immediately barraged with rocks and bottles, and fled back into the police station. The police responded by pushing the anti-racist forces back, using horses and clubbing demonstrators. The crowd retreated a little.

After a few moments, the cops led the Nazis out a rear exit of the station. The crowd swarmed over to a spot above the Nazis truck and continued to hurl rocks and bottles at them. The cops charged the crowd again, pushing people back from that spot.

AFTER the Nazis fled in their truck, the cops went on the rampage. They picked out individuals to attack and arrest. Several people were beaten by groups of cops after they were handcuffed. Many cops baited the crowd and tried to provoke fights.



Detroit cops attack anti-Nazi demonstrators at August 22 rally.

In all, nine protesters were arrested, including Jewish and trade union activists and supporters of the Progressive Labor Party (PLP) and the Revolutionary Socialist League. Six demonstrators required medical attention.

The militant anti-racist action came in spite of attempts by the Detroit City Council to prevent it.

The council, which is majority Black and heavily social democratic, gave the Nazis a permit on August 5. The council tried to hush the news up to prevent a counter-demonstration and to hide their protection of the Nazis.

WHEN the news began to spread in the week before August 22, council President Erma Henderson

went on radio urging people to stay home. She and the rest of the council would prefer to see racist terrorists rally unopposed in downtown Detroit than to see a militant, anti-racist movement develop.

Several left groups had organized in advance against the planned Nazi rally. The Committee Against Klan/Nazi Terror held a picket of 60 people that entered the action when the Nazis appeared. The picket included the Moslem Student Society, lesbian and gay activists, the International Socialist Organization, the Revolutionary Workers League, the RSL and others. The picket condemned the City Council for its protection of the Nazis and called for militant struggle against the fascists. PLP and the International Committee Against Racism held a picket of 30 people. They refused to cooperate with the other organizations and stopped picketing rather than march with other anti-racist forces.

THE militant action also involved many people not affiliated with left groups, including half of the 75-100 who were directly involved in the confrontation. One sign of community support was the appearance of 40 Black participants in a Bike-athon who circled Kennedy Square with fists clenched and whistles blowing. They came after receiving a leaflet that morning.

The day's militant action broke up the Nazis' momentum. The Nazis, along with other organized racist forces, have grown and

carried out many acts of racist terror recently. They have held several unannounced pickets in downtown Detroit and were able to rally in the Jewish suburb of Southfield this spring. But August 22 gave a beating to the myth of "Aryan invincibility." It proved how dependent the fascists are on police protection. It let potential

Last month we reported that the pre-trial hearing for RSL supporter Steve Rose, charged with inciting to riot at a July 11 anti-Klan demonstration in Meriden, Connecticut, and with reckless endangerment at an earlier anti-Klan rally in Meriden, would be held September 10. That hearing has been rescheduled for September 22. A supporter of PLP/InCAR already charged with inciting to riot on July 11 was re-arrested September 10 on assault charges stemming from that same rally. We will carry a fuller report on these cases in next month's Torch/La Antorcha.

Nazi recruits know that it is dangerous to be a fascist.

A defense committee has been organized to fight the charges against the demonstrators. An initial victory was won when the cops lowered the felony charges, leaving all those arrested facing misdemeanors. □

## Anti-Nuke Movement Wins Important Victory —Bailly Power Plant Abandoned

On August 26, the Northern Indiana Public Services Company (NIPSCO) announced it was cancelling construction of the Bailly nuclear power plant in northern Indiana. This marks the first time in U.S. history that any nuclear power plant has been cancelled once construction began. NIPSCO's retreat is thus a major victory for local steelworkers, area residents and anti-nuclear activists, who all opposed the Bailly plant.

The Bailly plant, if completed, would have been both a threat to the safety of millions of working people and an environmental disaster. The construction site was located just outside Gary, Indiana, and less than 30 miles from Chicago, Illinois. This is one of the most densely populated areas in the country, including more than 3,300,000 people. The site was literally next door to a Bethlehem Steel Company plant that employs over 8,000 workers. It was also on the edge of the Indiana Dunes National Lakeshore, a major recreational area.

### 14 years of opposition

A broad coalition of groups formed to oppose construction of the plant after NIPSCO announced plans to build it in 1967. This coalition included District 31 of the

United Steelworkers union (USWA), the city of Gary, the Save the Dunes Council, the Bailly Alliance, and Ralph Nader's Critical Mass Energy Project. The coalition held up the start of construction through protests to the Atomic Energy Commission (AEC) and a suit to the Supreme Court, which finally confirmed the commission's approval of the site in 1976. Then opponents of the plant filed a new series of challenges to the construction methods and structures to be used in building it. The Nuclear Regulatory Commission (NRC—successor to the AEC) was still considering these objections when construction was halted.

The coalition's success in delaying construction of the plant, combined with skyrocketing cost estimates for completing the project, forced NIPSCO to give up the project altogether. NIPSCO originally proposed to finish construction in 1976, at a cost of \$187 million. But NIPSCO chief executive officer Edmund A. Schroer announced that because of delays the plant could not have been finished until 1992. Meanwhile cost estimates had jumped to \$2.3 billion, "due wholly to the effect of inflation and the

time-cost of money"—in other words, high interest rates. He said the company concluded that "cost increases of this magnitude are simply not bearable."

It remains to be seen what effect the cancellation of the Bailly plant will have on other nuclear power projects. Nuclear plants are going up all over the country. Commonwealth Edison is building six of them in Illinois alone. Others are under construction in New York, Tennessee, Mississippi and Washington.

NRC spokesperson Jan Strasma believes the Bailly cancellation will have little impact on the nuclear power industry. Strasma declared: "I don't see that [NIPSCO's] decision is going to have an observable effect on other utilities. Bailly was unique in so many ways."

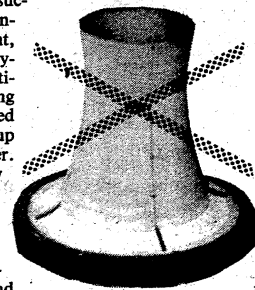
But in fact there is ample evidence that, like the Bailly plant, other nuclear power projects are becoming financial boondoggles. For instance, the estimated cost of the Niagara Mohawk Power Company's Nine Mile 2 plant under construction near Oswego, New York, has risen over 800 percent—from \$450 million in 1974 to \$3.7 billion today! The Washington

Public Power Supply System approved an emergency bond issue on August 27 that will cost Washington and Oregon power users \$234 million in 1983 simply to pay interest costs during construction of two power plants whose total cost will be \$12 billion.

### Steel union support aided struggle

Working people can only help themselves by mobilizing to shut down these and similar projects. The capitalist class, and particularly the utility companies, want us to believe that nuclear power will provide the U.S. with cheap, safe energy. It's pretty clear by now that nuclear power isn't exactly cheap.

Evidence that nuclear power plants are unsafe for both the workers inside them and the people forced to live near them is also piling up. On September 2 the Environmental Policy Institute, using NRC data, revealed that total radiation exposure of workers at U.S. nuclear reactors went up 35 percent to a new record in 1980 and will increase again this year. In July, Critical Mass drew up a list of 3,800 "mishaps" at nuclear plants last year, based on NRC reports. The NRC itself insisted that only a few of these "mishaps" involved "a moderate actual or potential impact on public health or safety," or "a



major reduction in degree of safety." That's just great. Even one nuclear disaster can kill hundreds of thousands of people.

The successful fight against the Bailly nuclear power plant shows that it is possible to stop the construction of nuclear power plants, if people are dedicated enough to mobilize popular opposition to them and patient enough to keep struggling until they win. In particular the participation of the USWA in the coalition to stop Bailly was a step forward for both the trade unions and the anti-nuclear movement as a whole. The unions can be a potent force within the anti-nuclear movement. Major unions like the United Mine Workers and the International Association of Machinists have already taken a stand against nuclear power. Working people in other unions need to fight for their own unions to join the struggle against nuclear power on both a local and national level. If the trade unions can be brought into the anti-nuclear movement, more victories like the one recently won at Bailly will be possible. □



## Carl Harp — murdered

On September 5, Carl Harp, a revolutionary anarchist, was found dead in his cell at the Washington State Penitentiary at Walla Walla. He was found hung with TV cable, his wrists slashed. The prison keepers claim Harp's death was a suicide. But all the facts point to murder.

Harp was supposed to have been in protective custody on the day he died. Harp had placed himself in protective custody after discovering, in late August, that prison guards were plotting his murder and trying to convince prisoners to kill him.

At the time that Harp went into protective custody, the whole prison was being put on lockdown. During a lockdown nobody's supposed to be moved. However, the keepers moved Harp to the admissions tier. They then moved the one other prisoner on the tier off of it. That left Harp alone, with no one to witness what would happen to him. This is a little too convenient to believe that something wasn't being set up.

Furthermore, the weapon that Harp would have used to cut himself wasn't found.

Finally, the prison administrators claim to have found a suicide note with Harp's body. This note says: "I did myself, so don't blame anybody else." Carl Harp was a jailhouse lawyer and a poet. That he would use a phrase like "I did myself . . ." is highly unlikely. That he would not blame the capitalist state and capitalist oppression if he committed suicide is equally suspicious.

Beyond these facts surrounding the death, there is further reason to be wary of what the state says. One reason is that Walla Walla is the same prison where Harp was brutally beaten and raped by prison guards two years ago. The guards who had been fired as a result of that incident have been rehired. They were back on the job before Harp was killed.

Added to this, Carl Harp was one of a number of plaintiffs in a class action suit filed against the Washington State Penitentiary for cruel and unusual punishment. This suit grew out of the beating/rape of Harp and the beatings of numerous other prisoners. These prisoners recently won their suit. And within the coming months a suit for damages will begin. This means the state had a financial interest in killing Harp.

The prison keepers had a political interest in murdering Carl Harp as well. Harp was a revolutionary anarchist and a prison organizer. He was one of the leaders of the 1977 prison strike at Walla Walla. He was a co-founder of Men Against Sexism, a multi-national prison group formed to stop rape and harassment of gay and young prisoners. Harp did much to expose the rotten conditions at Walla Walla and to organize other prisoners to change them.

We in the RSL and at the Torch/La Antorcha have known and corresponded with Carl Harp for over five years. We have known him as a poet, artist, jailhouse lawyer, prisoner organizer and revolutionary anarchist. We have known him also as a friend. His death comes as a blow to us. We are saddened and angered. We understood and agreed with his fight for a world without prisons. We will continue to fight for this goal, for the memory of Carl Harp, and so that other people like this man can live in freedom.

—Frank Hopkins

## Robert Guy killed in bomb explosion

On August 31, at 1:30 a.m., Robert Guy Jr., a Black activist, died in a bomb explosion in Battle Creek, Michigan. The bomb blew off his hand and he bled to death in the parking lot of a tavern. Guy, 26, was the president of the Coalition to End Police Brutality in Battle Creek. The circumstances of his death are unclear. The police claim he was carrying the bomb. Many people suspect Guy was murdered by racist forces.

The coalition's struggle against police brutality has been intense. The coalition was formed following a brutal beating by the police of Larry Guy, Robert's brother. Larry was in intensive care for five days and has since been railroaded to prison. The Guy home has been bombed, crosses burned on his street and a cop put a shotgun to Robert's head. The coalition has forced concessions from the city government and forced several cops, including the police chief, to resign. The coalition organized two marches on Jackson prison this summer to protest the lockdown following the rebellions in Michigan prisons.

At Robert Guy's burial, attended by 400 people, he was honored as a fighter for Black liberation. The funeral was organized by the Republic of New Afrika, of which Robert was a member.

The police have given Robert Guy's death as an excuse to step up harassment of his family and the coalition. The cops surrounded his home and searched it. The coalition expects more harassment from the cops, and has called a demonstration for September 14 to protest this.

# Activists Question PAM's Direction

By ROD MILLER

After a promising beginning, the People's Anti-War Mobilization (PAM), appears seriously weakened by the increasingly bureaucratic and sectarian behavior of the dominant left group in PAM, the Workers World Party (WWP).

Many movement activists had high hopes for PAM when, after organizing the successful May 3 anti-war mobilization at the Pentagon, it announced plans for an "All Peoples Congress" (to be held in Detroit, October 16-18) and a "National Day of Resistance" to protest Reagan's budget cuts and other attacks on working and oppressed people.

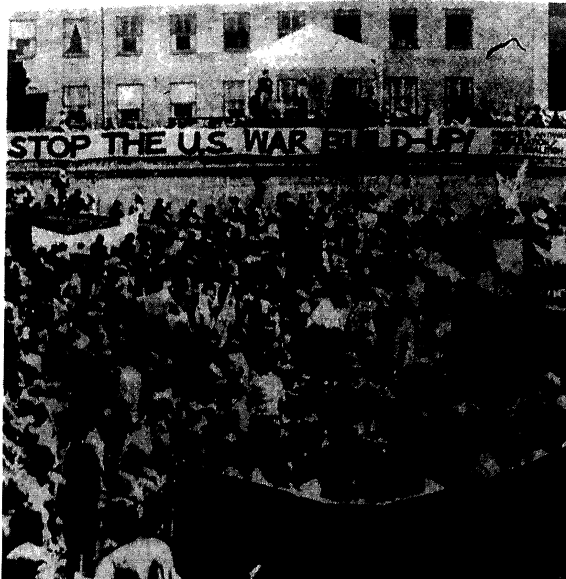
To many, PAM seemed to offer a potential rallying point and organizational framework for building a much-needed mass national movement against the growing capitalist offensive. However, ever since the May 3 Pentagon march, activists from around the country have complained that local PAM chapters were being stifled by WWP efforts to maintain its own narrow organizational control. Proposals for activity at the local level were met, time and again, with the response that such questions "could only be decided in NY." Procedures for democratic decision-making in PAM were found to be non-existent. Left groups eager to join and build PAM encountered endless maneuvers by Workers World to exclude them.

The result has been that many independent activists, movement organizations and left groups have withdrawn from PAM, weakening it considerably. Those groups remaining in PAM are finding it increasingly difficult to struggle with Workers World over its bureaucratic and sectarian perspectives.

## Criticisms suppressed

At a national PAM board meeting held in NYC in early August, the Communist Workers Party (CWP), Sojourner Truth Organization (STO) and the RSL raised criticisms of WWP's bureaucratic stranglehold over PAM. The CWP also raised differences with what they termed "PAM's over-emphasis on specially oppressed groups." (These criticisms were not shared by the RSL or STO; both groups view PAM's efforts to fight for the needs of the most oppressed as one of its strong points, particularly in the context of Reagan's racist and sexist "divide and conquer" strategy.)

WWP responded by engineering the expulsion of the CWP from PAM's national board. (The RSL and STO, despite extensive involvement in PAM, were never allowed representation on the national board in the first place.) The CWP was expelled on the charge of "racism"—a rather flimsy cover for the real crime—differing with the Workers World Party. Apparently not satisfied with



PAM's May 3 demonstration drew tens of thousands of people.

these efforts to squash dissent, WWP has now reorganized the entire national leadership structure for the upcoming "All Peoples Congress." A new "National Coordinating Board" has been created. This committee excludes all left organizations from any participation in discussion and decision-making over the character and direction of the "All Peoples Congress" and the "National Day of Resistance."

Again, the WWP has tried to put a thin cover on what is really going on. On paper, even Workers World itself does not have representation on the new steering committee; the committee is supposedly made up of representatives from more than 100 "legitimate community groups."

In reality, however, the committee consists of dozens of Workers World members and supporters, operating as representatives from many of these community groups. Moreover, while some of the groups on the new committee are entirely legitimate, others are little more than Workers World fronts.

On top of this, a steering committee made up of over 100 organizations from around the country will not in fact function as an on-going leadership body; it would not be too surprising if this committee never meets between now and the "All Peoples Congress." The real function of this new committee is to give an appearance of a broadly democratic leadership—while WWP runs the entire operation itself.

## Manipulation won't build movement

There is nothing to gloat over in these developments. PAM had a great deal of potential. In the face

of the increasingly ruthless assault on working people's rights, living standards and working conditions, favorable conditions exist for building a mass response.

However, as with the mass student movement of the 1960s, which found its most political and organized expression in SDS (Students for a Democratic Society), this response—a mass, nationwide movement of tens of thousands—will not be the "property" of a single organization. Rather, it will be made up of many divergent political tendencies which, while they continue to struggle over important political differences between them, also recognize the need for common action on a democratic basis.

Workers World, by choosing to make PAM its "property," has demonstrated that it does not understand this and has destroyed much of PAM's potential in the process.

Hopefully, an important lesson can be learned from these developments. Working people in this country will not respond to organizations and movements which function in a manner every bit as bureaucratic and manipulative as the many institutions in this society which fuck them over every day. A movement which does not open itself up in a truly democratic way to the participation of all its members, which seeks to organize people by tricking and manipulating them, rather than telling them the truth and educating and organizing on this basis, is a movement which working and oppressed people in this country will never make their own. Only if we build a movement which taps people's deeply held democratic and libertarian aspirations—their desire for true freedom rather than a new set of "leaders" acting in "their interests"—will we develop the real potential for liberating us all. □

Below we are reprinting distributed by the Los Angeles RSL at a recent Communist Workers Party (CWP) forum. It summarizes basic differences between CWP.

## The two-stage r

For the underdeveloped Africa, Asia and Latin America proposes a strategy of revolution. To them the first, or national stage consists primarily against imperialism—a war of liberation. This anti-imperialist stage is led by sections of the local bourgeoisie of the underdeveloped countries and professional people with workers and small farmers. It expels imperialism, or at least control of the country, in order to achieve a healthier development of the economy and a freer nation. Examples of this first-stage revolution according to the CWP, are the full national liberation struggles in Zimbabwe and the ongoing Salvador.

By definition, this first-stage is not socialist and is not led by the class, although workers may participate in it. At this stage the goals are national and bourgeois, not socialist, and the coalition of all classes is the bourgeoisie.

The CWP's second stage is the socialist revolution—through a gradual process of nationalization of the means of production under the national democratic government establishment of a stage revolution. When the bourgeoisie has been sufficiently nationalized, "Marxist" or "pro-socialist" will be sufficiently established at the point of view of this national government, then socialism will be the result. No working class revolution. No seizure of state power by the class to smash the bourgeoisie. No alteration of class relations within the developed country. The first stage of imperialism and puts the local bourgeoisie and middle class in power. The stage is a gradual, peaceful process of society led by the same capitalist class which came to power in the result, says the CWP, is socialist models are China, Cuba and in this same way, they say, Africa and Nicaragua are "moving toward socialism," having successfully completed the first stage of the revolution. All that is lacking for these countries is a bit more national property and a government. That's how Mao did it in China. Fidel did it in Cuba. Why can't Zimbabwe or Nicaragua's Frelimo do the same?

This two-stage theory of revolution is not new. The Russian Mensheviks proposed it forward 75 years ago when the Russian—an underdeveloped country—those days—was not ready for revolution and that the only possibility was a bloc with the liberal capitalists to develop the country and introduce socialism.

What about Marx's call for independence of the "only revolutionary class"—the proletariat? About the notion of a violent capitalist class rule? Of Lenin's call for "Revolution" to smash the state institutions? Of putting direct control of the factories, direct control of the government and direct control of the government in the hands of the working class and farmer allies? Marx said, "The function of the working class must be the working class itself." Does anyone agree with this or not?

Below we are reprinting a position paper distributed by the Los Angeles branch of the RSL at a recent Communist Workers Party (CWP) forum. It summarizes some of the basic differences between the RSL and the CWP.

### The two-stage revolution

For the underdeveloped countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America, the CWP proposes a strategy of **revolution in stages**. To them the first, or national democratic, stage consists primarily of the struggle against imperialism—a war for national liberation. This anti-imperialist struggle is led by sections of the local capitalist class in the underdeveloped country, plus middle class and professional people, in alliance with workers and small farmers. Its goal is to expel imperialism, or at least weaken its control of the country, in order to allow a healthier development of the local capitalist economy and a freer national political life. Examples of this first-stage revolution, according to the CWP, are the recently successful national liberation struggles in Nicaragua and Zimbabwe and the ongoing war in El Salvador.

By definition, this first-stage revolution is **not socialist** and is **not led by the working class**, although workers may, and usually do, participate in it. At this stage, the revolution's goals are national and democratic (that is, **bourgeois**), not socialist, and its leadership is a coalition of all classes—including the **bourgeoisie**.

The CWP's second stage of revolution—the socialist revolution—is carried out through a gradual process of centralization and nationalization of the means of production under the national democratic (bourgeois) government established by the first-stage revolution. When the economy has been sufficiently nationalized and when a "Marxist" or "pro-socialist" ideology has been sufficiently established as the dominant point of view of this national democratic government, then socialism is proclaimed. No working class revolution is ever needed. No seizure of state power by the **working class** to smash the bourgeois state. No basic alteration of class relations **within** the underdeveloped country. The first stage pushes out imperialism and puts the local liberal capitalists and middle class in power. The second stage is a gradual, peaceful transformation of society led by the **same capitalist government which came to power in the first stage**. The result, says the CWP, is socialism. Their models are China, Cuba and Vietnam. And in this same way, they say, Angola, Zimbabwe and Nicaragua are "moving toward socialism," having successfully carried out the first stage of the revolution. Apparently all that is lacking for these countries to be fully socialist is a bit more nationalization of property and a government proclamation. That's how Mao did it in China. That's how Fidel did it in Cuba. Why can't Mugabe in Zimbabwe or Nicaragua's FSLN do the same?

This two-stage theory of revolution is not new. The Russian Menshevik Party put it forward 75 years ago when they argued that Russia—an underdeveloped country itself in those days—was not ready for socialist revolution and that the only possible strategy was a bloc with the liberal capitalists in order to develop the country and gradually introduce socialism.

What about Marx's call for the political independence of the "only consistently revolutionary class"—the proletariat? What about the notion of a violent overthrow of capitalist class rule? Of Lenin's call in "State and Revolution" to smash the bourgeois state institutions? Of putting direct control of the factories, direct control of the land, and direct control of the government in the hands of the working class and its small farmer allies? Marx said, "**The emancipation of the working class must be the task of the working class itself.**" Does the CWP agree with this or not?

## RSL vs. CWP Opposing Views on Socialism and Revolution

After returning to Russia in early 1917, Lenin waged a furious fight against his comrades in the Bolshevik Party who wanted to hand over the power won by the Russian masses in February 1917 to the national democratic, bourgeois, Provisional Government. Lenin raised the slogan "**All Power to the Soviets!**" and urged the Russian workers and small farmers to extend the gains won in February by **continuing the revolution** until a government of workers and small farmers was won. He argued for workers' revolution, not a bloc with the liberal bourgeoisie, and he knew that socialism would never evolve peacefully out of a bourgeois Provisional Government. It would have to be consciously fought for and won by the working class itself. The October Revolution, the **socialist** revolution of 1917, proved him right.

### Socialism cannot be imposed

In 1917, Lenin not only opposed the two-stage theory of revolution, he also understood that socialism is not something to be **imposed** on the working class. If the workers are not ready to seize power directly, if they still have illusions in the Provisional Government, he said, then we will patiently explain to them our point of view. We will use the soviets, the workers' committees, as a forum to convince workers and small farmers of the need to continue the revolution, of the need to rule **for themselves**, he said. Lenin was not in favor of the Bolshevik Party seizing power alone, then later "introducing" socialism to the masses.

The CWP, in contrast, thinks it is idealist to expect the mass of working people to favor socialist revolution **until after socialism has already been achieved**. But what is this "socialism" that has been won, if the single most advanced, most consistently revolutionary, class doesn't favor it and didn't fight for it? Without a **consciousness** of its socialist goals, the working class may end up with a lot of things—national liberation, nationalized property, a liberal bourgeois government—but it won't end up with socialism!

This error leads the CWP to support the political rule of any nationalist, patriotic, popular or democratic force that claims to be for socialism, for the masses. With this view, socialist revolution is no longer the conscious act of the working class itself, as Marx thought, but merely a series of **good ideas and radical reforms** carried out by **anyone** in the name of "Marxism-Leninism" or national liberation.

### Different visions

The CWP's theory of how socialism will be achieved is closely linked to its vision of the **kind of socialism** it is fighting for. Its theory and its vision are entirely different

from our own. The "socialism" of the CWP is in fact state capitalism. It is the kind of society that exists in Russia and China today—where workers have no right to organize independently, protest or strike, where profit still determines production and wage differentials are increasing, where national minorities, gay people and women continue to be oppressed, and where nuclear reactors, environmental pollution and territorial conflicts continue to threaten the lives of everyone. To call this socialism, as the CWP does, is to eliminate the necessity for working class rule. To the CWP, the working class has very little to do with socialism, either before or after the revolution. Nationalization of property, even **without workers' rule**, is enough.

To the Revolutionary Socialist League, socialism means something very different. To us, socialism isn't just nationalized property. It is the **direct political rule of the working class itself**, exercising power through workers' councils, factory committees and trade unions. This is no wild-eyed, idealist fantasy. It has happened before. Workers ruled society directly, though briefly, through the Paris Commune of 1871 and the Russian soviets of 1905. Working class rule survived for a longer period after the Russian Revolution of October 1917. Each of these historical examples of proletarian political rule is an inspiration to our own struggle. Despite their shortcomings, they serve as useful models for the kind of society we are trying to build.

### The Paris Commune

Marx, Engels, and Lenin all considered the Paris Commune to be the first dictatorship of the proletariat, the first workers' state. Lenin used it as a model for the kind of society the Bolsheviks hoped to build in Russia. Compare the Paris Commune with the repressive, authoritarian state-capitalist regimes in China and Russia today, and you'll get a picture of how far from Marxism the CWP's theory of "socialism" has taken them.

For two months in the spring of 1871, the armed workers of Paris controlled the entire city and defended it from the capitalist armies of both Germany and France. The city's government was the Commune—working people elected democratically, paid no more than workers' wages, and subject to immediate recall at any time. The first decree of the Commune was the abolition of the standing army and its replacement by an armed militia of all the people. Workers, organized into trade unions, seized their factories and ran them themselves. The Commune was, according to Marx, "**the political form at last discovered under which to work out the economic emancipation of labor.**"

Later, a similar form of workers' government—the soviets—arose spontaneously in Russia during the revolutionary struggles of 1905 and 1917. Still later, during the Hungarian Revolution in 1956, workers'

councils briefly existed and tried to organize a society of workers' rule. Working class rule is possible. It can happen again. Why should we settle for anything less?

### Build an international party!

The Revolutionary Socialist League is committed to building an international revolutionary workers' party, completely independent of the capitalist class. This was also Lenin's goal, and the founding of the Communist International (the Comintern) in 1919 was one of his greatest achievements. Stalin dissolved the Comintern 24 years later and since then none of the so-called socialist countries has renewed Lenin's call. Could it be that their bourgeois national interests are stronger than their socialist internationalist beliefs? Recent border wars between Russia and China, China and Vietnam, Vietnam and Kampuchea all seem to prove this. Does the CWP favor the building of an international revolutionary party?

While guarding our political independence, we will bloc with anyone in the military fight against imperialism, including with elements of the anti-imperialist bourgeoisie. That's why today in El Salvador, we take the side of the FDR/FMLN. In this desperate fight against U.S. imperialism, the FDR/FMLN must win! But we have no illusions in the liberal capitalist or middle class leadership of the national liberation struggles. Their victories against imperialism—however important—will be limited and temporary.

### Imperialism is not progressive

The CWP believes that a first-stage (national democratic) revolution opens the door to social modernization and development. But how can this be in a world capitalist system still dominated by imperialism, and a world system which is itself undergoing a severe economic crisis? A newly liberated underdeveloped country needs technology, a variety of natural resources, and access to world markets. To get them it has only two choices: extend the revolution internationally, or make new deals with imperialism. Otherwise it will not survive. But imperialism, having just been thrown out, is in no mood to be generous. When Coca-Cola invests in China, when U.S. hotels reestablish franchises in Cuba, they do so **not to develop** the country, but to exploit local workers and to extract big profits. That is the nature of imperialism. Even the apparent "generosity" of Russian imperialism—which pours \$10 million a day into the Cuban economy to keep it alive—has had the effect of **retarding**, not advancing, Cuba's industrial development. Today Cuba has once again a one-crop economy, totally dependent on Russian aid and the sugar harvest.

To the CWP, imperialism can play a progressive role by providing credit, aid and technology to underdeveloped countries after their first-stage revolution. We disagree. Imperialism is the worst enemy of all the people of the world. Real national development, real economic growth and personal freedom will never come about under the leadership of a national democratic, bourgeois government, still dependent on imperialism.

Only the working class in power, ruling its own state through its own institutions, can set free the repressed power and creativity of the people to carry out a true socialist development. This will mean allying politically with the small farmers and specially oppressed—not with the bourgeoisie. It will mean spreading the revolution to other countries—not looking for a new imperialist "protector." □

# South Africa Invades Angola

(Continued from page 1)  
given to South Africa by the victorious imperialist powers. The United Nations, which since its founding has overseen such trust territories, revoked South Africa's mandate for Namibia in 1966 and has repeatedly demanded that South Africa pull out. It has also granted SWAPO semi-recognition. The organization sits as a non-voting observer in the UN General Assembly as Namibia's representative.

## Why now?

The South African government apparently took three main political considerations into account before deciding to escalate its war against SWAPO into a full-scale invasion of Angola.

First, Prime Minister Pieter W. Botha has been under pressure in South Africa to show he is a hardline racist, ready to be aggressive in maintaining apartheid rule (see accompanying article). In the minds of many white South Africans, it is essential to defeat SWAPO to preserve white rule at home. They badly want an example of a victory of whites over a national liberation movement to dampen the self-confidence that Black victories in Mozambique, Angola and Zimbabwe have given the Black people of Azania (South Africa).

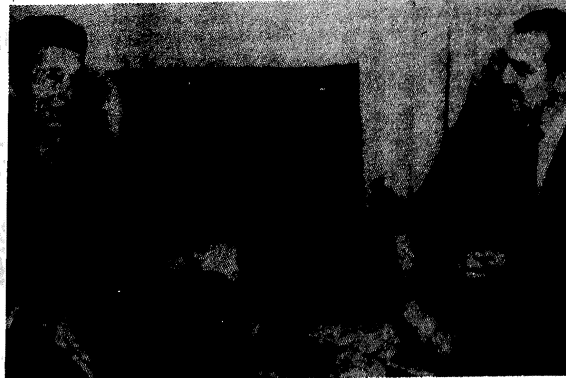
Second, the South Africans wanted to strike at SWAPO before a scheduled special UN General Assembly meeting on Namibia

Israel bombed Iraq and Lebanon, the administration's response was nothing harsher than some solemn public statements. The U.S. itself provoked a fire fight with Libya and shot down two planes. And Reagan has been working for military victory of the murderous junta over the liberation forces in El Salvador, rejecting negotiations.

More specifically, Reagan let the South African government know that he was prepared to be more openly supportive of the apartheid regime than the U.S. has dared to be for years.

According to documents leaked earlier this year, at a meeting in April Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs Chester Crocker told South African officials that the new U.S. policy was that while reforms of apartheid make it "easier for the U.S. to work with the South African government," they are "not a condition" for better relations.

In a public speech given in August, the same week as the invasion of Angola, Crocker said that U.S. policy was based on "three realities." One, "the U.S. has heavy economic interests in southern Africa." Two, Russia is trying to gain influence in the area. And three, southern Africa "must be understood on its own regional merits" and "it is not our task to choose between black and white." As the conservative British magazine *The Economist* commented,



"All he [Reagan] knows about southern Africa is that he's on the side of the whites," a Reagan aide said last year. With him is South African Foreign Minister R.F. Botha.

"This was music to the ears of Pretoria. It was the line that South Africa's own department of information has been putting out for years, with scant success."

What this means for Namibia was spelled out last May when Secretary of State Alexander Haig held a meeting with South African Foreign Minister Roelof F. "Pik" Botha specifically to discuss the Namibian situation. At that get-together, Haig told Botha that the U.S. sees "cooperation in resolving the Namibian problem as the first step in our new relationship and that we are willing to work towards

an internationally acceptable settlement which will safeguard their interests." Then the U.S. will "work to end South Africa's polecat status in the world and seek to restore its place as a legitimate and important regional actor."

Haig also told R.F. Botha that despite South African hopes, there was no way the UN could be excluded from a Namibian settlement. But neither Haig nor Crocker ever disputed another often expressed South African view: that SWAPO is a "Russian puppet."

The importance of that becomes apparent when it is coupled to

another Haig statement: "We share your view that Namibia not be turned over to the Soviets and their allies. A Russian flag in Windhoek [Namibian capital] is as unacceptable to us as it is to you." In other words, we agree on excluding SWAPO from any future government.

But, as even June Kronholz, a staff reporter for the conservative *Wall Street Journal*, admits: "It is hard to imagine a Namibian election—and a free election would be central to any political settlement—that didn't result in a SWAPO victory."

The sum of U.S. statements was clear: "We will support military action to defeat SWAPO." P.W. Botha and his ministers had no problem adding it up and launched the invasion of Angola.

## Search and destroy

The South African government had several objectives in the invasion. It wanted to destroy SWAPO camps and punish villages friendly to SWAPO. It also wanted to destroy radar and surface-to-air missiles (SAM) sites that Angola recently set up with Russian help. Before these installations were established, South African planes could—and did—bomb SWAPO



convened this fall. The South Africans have little interest in a settlement at this point since they have little political support in Namibia, which is only 10 percent white. Whether the invasion dealt SWAPO a significant blow, thus strengthening South Africa's position in negotiations, or busted up settlement talks altogether, South Africa would come out ahead. The only way the racists could lose was through a defeat on the battlefield. But the South African army was fairly confident that if it faced only SWAPO and the Angolan army (and not troops of Angola's allies) it could carry out an invasion successfully.

Third, and perhaps most important, was the encouragement P.W. Botha and his Cabinet have been getting from Washington. In general, President Reagan has made clear that he approves of military action against countries reluctant to dance to the U.S.'s tune. When

# Azanian Freedom Struggle Shaking

From the boycotts and marches of May to the construction of a tent village outside Cape Town in late August, the Black, Indian and so-called Coloured people of Azania (South Africa) are stepping up their struggle to overturn the apartheid regime. Meanwhile, the white South African ruling class and its supporters are more divided than ever before.

The May and early June actions (reported on in the June 15 *Torch/La Antorcha*) occurred as the white rulers celebrated 20 years since the completion of their apartheid state. Since then, the largest and most prominent action has been the Cape Town squatters' struggle.

During July, police carried out a series of raids on male single-sex hostels in Langa and Nyanga townships near Cape Town. They arrested over 1,000 people on the grounds that they didn't have government permission to live in the area. Most of those arrested were women and children—families of men with jobs in Cape Town. They were ordered to go to the Transkei, a barren overcrowded scrap of land that is supposedly their homeland. Few did. Instead they set up a squatters' camp near Crossroads, a formerly illegal Black shantytown of 2,000 that was granted legal status two years ago.

Police raided the new camp repeatedly, tearing down and burning the tents made of branches and plastic sheeting and re-arresting the

squatters. Once they set up a roadblock to prevent the camp occupants from getting food. Provisions ran low and fires, first kept alive with brushwood and then with tires, went out, leaving the squatters unprotected against the cold



Crossroads, a Black settlement near Cape Town.

winter wind blowing across the Cape Flats. The police moved in again, bulldozing the area to make it even less hospitable.

But the squatters held out. Their numbers even grew from around 400 to 2,000.

When a legal aid society took up the defense of arrested squatters, the time it took the government to convict them of violating the apartheid pass laws—that is, living with their husbands and fathers—lengthened from 10 minutes to an hour and a half. In response, the government took the unprecedented step of doing away with the hearings altogether, claiming that because the women were supposedly citizens of another country (Transkei) they had no rights in South Africa and could be summarily deported.

On August 19, over 1,000 people were deported to the Transkei by bus. Eight days later, 800 remaining squatters who had set up a new camp in a nearby churchyard were arrested in an early morning raid and presumably were deported.

## Black union militants meet

During this same period, members of the illegal Black trade unions, which have played a key role in the fight against the racist

regime over the past year, continued to strengthen their organizations and unity. On August 8-9, delegates from 29 Black unions representing more than 150,000 workers met together for the first time. The gathering included representatives of the Council of Unions of South Africa, based in Johannesburg; the Federation of South African Trade Unions, based in Durban and Port Elizabeth; the South African Allied Workers Union, based in East London; the Motor Assemblies and Components Workers Union, based in Port Elizabeth; the African Food and Canning Workers Union, based in Cape Town, and other unions.

At the conference the delegates pledged that the unions would support each other when under government attack and re-affirmed their policy of non-cooperation with the government registration program. Registration would mean that the unions would give up much of their power in return for legalization.

The importance of these decisions was highlighted on the second day of the conference when a memorandum written and privately circulated by the Ministry of Manpower Utilization and the Ministry of Cooperation and Development was published and acknowledged by the government as genuine. The memo is a plan to coordinate attempts to bust the Allied Workers

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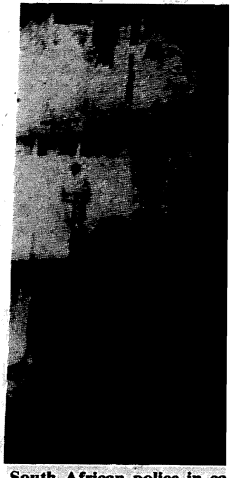
The South Africans

# Up Apa

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## Bombing camp widens

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importance of these decisions highlighted on the second day of the conference when a memorandum was privately circulated to the Ministry of Manpower and the Ministry of Labour and Development and acknowledged the government as genuine. The plan to coordinate the struggle with the Allied Workers

bases in Angola at will.

Another objective was to help UNITA, an Angolan rebel group that is armed and financed by South Africa and is headed by Jonas Savimbi. In his report on the conversation last April, Crocker wrote that R.F. Botha told him: "South African Government (SAG) sees Savimbi in Angola as buffer for Namibia. SAG believes Savimbi wants southern Angola. Having supported him this far it would damage SAG honor if Savimbi is harmed." Even though the invasion was not successful, at least to date, in establishing a mini-state for Savimbi, the need for Angolan troops to fight South Africa weakens the army in areas where UNITA is active.

Finally, the South Africans hoped the invasion would force the U.S. to break from its European allies on the question of Namibia. The Europeans want to stabilize southern Africa through a negotiated settlement that includes SWAPO. The model for their efforts is the settlement in Zimbabwe. For several years, the U.S., Canada, Great Britain, France and West Germany have been working together in what has become known as the Contact Group to prepare a similar settlement for Namibia.

The South Africans were confident the U.S. would support the invasion. They also knew that the Canadian and European leaders were likely to condemn the invasion. The result, they thought, would be the break-up of the Contact Group and thus less pressure on South Africa.

The South Africans were not

wrong. The United Nations Security Council voted 13-1 to condemn the invasion, with Britain abstaining and the U.S. casting the only "No" vote. The motion failed since the U.S. is one of five nations with a veto, but it isolated the U.S. in diplomatic circles.

## Anti-Russian talk a smokescreen

The U.S. was also alone with South Africa in painting the invasion as a fight against Russian imperialism. The main pretext for this is 19,000 Cuban troops and about 1,000 East German and Russian military advisors that Angola has asked to stay in the country to help defend it against South Africa and UNITA. (The troops are paid for, incidentally, with money Angola earns by selling oil to the Gulf Oil Co.) According to the U.S. acting delegate to the UN Charles Lichtenstein, violence in the region was



Jonas Savimbi, left, with a UNITA officer.

fueled by "foreign combat troops in Angola, particularly the large Cuban force and the provision of Soviet originated arms to SWAPO." But in fact no Cuban troops fought the South Africans during this invasion. While South African troops did capture one Russian advisor and killed four others (including one married couple and the wife of the captured officer), U.S./South African talk about Russian imperialism in Angola and Namibia has about as much substance as Russian claims that the CIA is controlling the upsurge in Poland. Moreover, who SWAPO and Angola turn to for military aid to defend themselves is irrelevant.

The simple fact is that the racist regime in South Africa wants to hold on to Namibia long enough to exterminate SWAPO and prepare the way for a compliant government. They also want to force the Angolan government to cede territory or a share of power to their client Savimbi. And the U.S. supports this plan. □

## Up Apartheid Regime

Union and encourage the growth of a more moderate organization.

### Bombing campaign widens

On another front, the African National Congress (ANC) has continued and expanded its bombing campaign, despite police efforts to suppress the organization. This campaign is carried out by ANC supporters who are trained out of

the country and then return to Azania. Their movement is possible because of a broad support network inside the country.

On July 21, bombs went off within 10 minutes of each other at two electric power stations 60 miles apart east of Johannesburg. An hour later, a third bomb went off at a power station near Pretoria, about 30 miles north of Johannesburg. South Africa has been suffering from a power shortage in recent months and the bombings were an unsuccessful attempt to create a

widespread blackout.

On August 13, ANC militants fired four rocket rounds into a military base six miles from downtown Pretoria. This was one of the most daring ANC attacks in some time. Unfortunately, the rockets failed to hit anything of military importance and slightly injured a Black woman working as a live-in maid at an officer's house.

### Pressure splits Afrikaner community

While Black resistance in South Africa today is not as dramatic as the Soweto uprising five years ago, it is just as, if not more, widespread and militant. It is also more organized. Civic and community organizations like the one that carried out the Cape Town squatters' protest are growing. Black trade unions are becoming more united. And the communities are protecting and defending guerrilla fighters when they can.

The constant pressure of Black people's struggle is creating divisions among South African whites. Over the last decade, a significant section of the dominant white group, the Afrikaners (of Dutch and French descent), have become part of the country's leading industrial and financial circles for the first time. These people, along with

(Continued on page 16)

## WORLD IN REVOLUTION

### Khomeini allies assassinated in Iran

On August 30 Mohammed Ali Rajai, the president of Iran, and Mohammed Javad Bahonar, the Iranian prime minister and head of the ruling Islamic Republican Party (IRP), were killed by a bomb explosion in Tehran. The bomb was placed in a room where the recently formed Supreme Defense Council was holding a supposedly secret meeting. The government is blaming a leftist opposition group, the Mujahedeen-e-Khalq, for the bombing, and has arrested several members of the prime minister's staff in connection with it. Mujahedeen leader Moussad Rajavi disclaimed direct responsibility for the bombing, but said it was the work of the "legitimate resistance movement" in Iran.

The Mujahedeen are carrying out an urban guerrilla warfare campaign aimed at overthrowing the repressive Islamic Republic set up by the Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini and his supporters in the IRP. They are allied with liberal capitalist leaders including former Iranian president Abolhassan Bani-Sadr, who was forced out of office in June and fled into exile with Rajavi in July. Bani-Sadr and Rajavi have formed a "National Council of Resistance," and are calling on Iranian workers and peasants to rise up against the Khomeini regime.

Despite this call, the real strategy is to force the fall of Khomeini's regime by decimating the IRP leadership. On August 24, Bani-Sadr told reporters that if the IRP's top five leaders were eliminated, the government would collapse. A week later two of these leaders, Rajai and Bahonar, were dead. Overall, oppositionists have assassinated four Cabinet members, six deputy ministers and 30 members of parliament since June.

The government has reacted to these attacks by executing more than 500 leftists. At the same time, it is trying to discredit the Mujahedeen by branding them as "mercenaries of U.S. imperialism," apparently with some success. Over a million people, chanting "Death to Bani-Sadr" and anti-imperialist slogans, turned out for the funeral of Rajai and Bahonar on August 31.

It is possible that the Mujahedeen's tactics will eventually create enough chaos in Iran to wreck the IRP's ability to rule effectively. Such a development would probably plunge the country into civil war, and might lead to U.S. or Russian intervention in Iran.

### Sandinistas ban strikes in Nicaragua

The ruling Frente Sandinista de Liberación Nacional (FSLN—Sandinista National Liberation Front) declared an economic and social emergency on September 9. The FSLN banned strikes for one year, ordering prison terms of up to three years for strikers or anyone who "incites" anyone to strike. It also decreed prison terms for raising prices without permission, "publishing false economic news" or "inciting foreign governments to damage the economy." Other measures include a five percent cut in the budget, a 10 percent cut in food and transportation subsidies, a government hiring freeze, and higher taxes on imported luxury goods.

The FSLN is desperately trying to stabilize Nicaragua's floundering economy. Government economists estimate that 1981 exports will fall \$140 million short of the \$680 million target for the year, leaving the country with a \$300 million balance of payments deficit. Meanwhile, inflation is 40 percent and rising, while basic goods like sugar and rice are in short supply. Only massive aid from capitalist governments in Mexico, Venezuela and Western Europe is preventing a total economic collapse.

The economic crisis reflects the political problems facing the FSLN government. The FSLN led the armed struggle against General Anastasio Somoza Debayle's dictatorship and took power in 1979 after a popular uprising toppled his regime. Since then it has promoted an economic alliance with the remaining capitalists in Nicaragua while denying them any effective political power. To enforce this policy the FSLN has to discipline both the workers and the capitalists.

Both the workers and the capitalists are critical of the FSLN's policies, although for different reasons. The workers are objecting to rising prices and food shortages. One worker told reporters, "We can't make ends meet. Everything is going up. Then we're told we can't have wage increases." On July 19, FSLN leader Daniel Ortega attacked "the sabotage of undisciplined workers" who strike for higher pay. The government's recent measures are intended to correct such "indiscipline."

For their part the capitalists applaud the FSLN's measures against the workers but resent its monopoly of political power. Private capitalists still control over half of Nicaraguan industry. At least some of them are trying to blackmail the FSLN into granting their demands by holding back investments. In July the government nationalized 14 companies because their owners were smuggling funds out of the country.

But the FSLN cannot take over all the capitalists' property without risking the loss of the foreign aid it needs to survive. It receives aid from capitalist governments only because it has promised a "pluralistic society" and a "mixed economy" in Nicaragua. If it abandons these promises, these governments would most likely retaliate by canceling their aid programs.

—PB

# LIBERATION FORCES GAINING GROUND IN EL SALVADOR

By PAUL BENJAMIN

"The bottom is beginning to fall out of the [Reagan] administration's heavy investment in El Salvador." This is how Washington Post columnist Philip Geyelin characterized the U.S. imperialist intervention in El Salvador on September 4.

"The guerrillas are stronger, and the army weaker, than appeared," Time magazine reported on September 7.

Today, the U.S. capitalist press is waking up to the fact that Reagan's holy war against the Salvadorean national liberation movement is in serious trouble. Their gloomy assessments come on the heels of important military and diplomatic gains by the liberation forces in August. On the battlefield, the Frente Farabundo Martí de Liberación Nacional (FMLN—Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front), which leads the armed freedom struggle in El Salvador, launched a nationwide offensive that demonstrated its ability to take on government security forces.

On August 12, after two days of serious fighting, the FMLN captured the town of Perquin, in Morazan province (see map). It held the town for seven days despite counterattacks by over 3,000 government troops supported by helicopters, heavy artillery, and—according to the FMLN's Radio Venceremos—troops from neighboring

over 100 electrical towers. As a result, 75 percent of the country has been without electric power at one time or another. The blackouts have crippled one out of every three businesses in El Salvador, and have totally paralyzed the shrimp fishing and canning industries.

The FMLN's successes are blowing apart the rosy predictions that both the Reagan administration and the Duarte regime were making about the war only a few months ago. In June both governments claimed that military victory against the FMLN was at hand. Hinton even asserted that the U.S. might withdraw some of its "advisors" in El Salvador because they were no longer needed.

However, the August offensive demonstrated that far from facing defeat, the FMLN is gaining in strength. So now the U.S. is planning to send more advisors, more military equipment and more economic aid to shore up the Duarte government. At an August 28 news conference, Secretary of State Alexander Haig claimed additional aid was necessary only because the Russian and Cuban governments were step-



Government soldier stands guard over remains of electric power line tower toppled by FMLN.

tions for a political settlement of the war in El Salvador.

The statement also called for a "revised internal situation" and a "restructured army" to create the basis for internationally supervised free elections for a new government. The Mexican/French statement amounts to political recognition of the FDR, and is a damaging blow to U.S. efforts to establish the international credibility of the Duarte government.

FDR President Guillermo Ungo immediately hailed the statement as "a recognition of the gains the people's struggle has made in the last weeks and months and the need in our country for a democratic government that can make changes in the economic, social and political order." Following the statement's release, Ungo and other FDR leaders began tours of Western Europe, Latin America and Africa to seek further support.

For its part, the Reagan administration is publicly trying to minimize the impact of the statement, even claiming that the U.S. agrees with much of it. But at the same time the State Department is lining up U.S. allies in Latin America to condemn the statement. Within a week after it was issued, 12 Latin American governments attacked the Mexican/French action as "interference in the internal affairs of El Salvador."

## U.S. backs phoney elections

The Mexican/French statement reflects the serious differences that have developed between the Reagan administration and major U.S. allies over the best way to contain the popular insurgency in El Salvador. The Reagan administration argues

that the Russian and Cuban governments are arming a relatively small number of guerrillas to overthrow the "legitimate" government of El Salvador. Consequently, the administration is demanding that its international allies support U.S. efforts to "draw the line against Soviet subversion and international terrorism" in El Salvador.

While the U.S. and its puppets in El Salvador claim they are seeking a political solution to the war, they reject negotiations with the FMLN. Instead, they are planning "elections" for a constituent assembly, scheduled for March 1982, to be followed by elections for a civilian government. Hinton claims these elections will prove the FMLN/FDR has little popular support.

The real goal of the scheduled elections is to deny the FMLN/FDR any role in deciding the future of El Salvador. The U.S. and the Duarte government insist that only groups that "renounce violence" can participate in the elections, which will be held under martial law. This amounts to an invitation to the FDR to commit suicide by giving up its arms and coming out in the open where the army and the right-wing death squads that have already slaughtered over 25,000 civilians can gun them down. Once the elections are over—assuming they take place at all—the U.S. will demand international support for the government while assisting the Salvadorean military's efforts to suppress the mass opposition movement altogether.

## France/Mexico ally with FDR moderates

But U.S. allies such as the Mexican government and the ruling social democratic parties in France, Germany and Scandinavia have been unwilling to go along with U.S. policy in El Salvador. They correctly regard the struggle in El Salvador as mainly an internal conflict that pits the ultra-conservative Salvadorean ruling class against the masses of workers and peasants who are being led by a coalition of moderate and leftist organizations. They are also aware that the moderate wing of the movement consists of groups such as Ungo's political party, the Movimiento Nacional Revolucionario (MNR—National Revolutionary Movement), which would like to limit the popular movement and reach some sort of accommodation with the U.S.

Mexican President José Lopez Portillo, other reformist Latin American leaders and the European social democrats are therefore trying to arrange a political settlement in El Salvador between the cur-

rent government and the moderate forces within the FDR/FMLN.

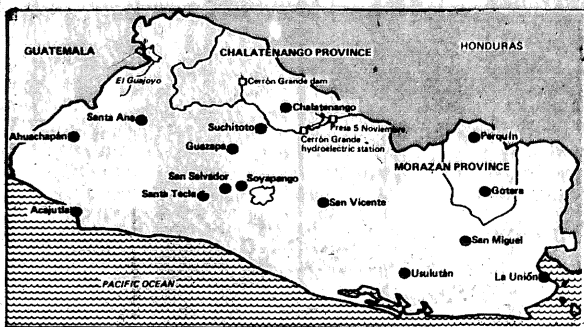
Such a deal would involve granting these moderates a share of political power in El Salvador in return for calling off the armed struggle and policing the workers and peasants and the more left-wing elements in the opposition front. The French/Mexican statement was a move to try to put this strategy into effect.

## Reagan failing own test

The French/Mexican declaration, along with other recent developments in the Salvadorean war, is raising serious problems for the Reagan administration. Reagan came into office determined to strengthen the U.S. war machine and avenge the defeats U.S. imperialism has suffered at the hands of national liberation movements in Southeast Asia, Africa and Central America in recent years. His administration's efforts to suppress the revolt in El Salvador represents the first test of this campaign.

But the U.S. has been unable to either defeat the Salvadorean liberation movement militarily or isolate it politically. Moreover, time seems to be working in favor of the popular forces.

On September 4, CBS News reported that morale in the Salvadorean government is declining, while the FMLN is growing stronger. Secretary of State Haig and Ambassador Hinton insist that the FMLN has no chance of winning. But U.S. military experts are not so sure. Lieutenant General Wallace Nutting, commander in chief of the U.S. Southern Command that includes El Salvador, told reporters: "I think we are now observing a stalemate. And in that kind of war, if you are not winning, you are losing." □



Honduras. During the offensive FMLN forces also surrounded the towns of Suchitoto, Aguilares and Cinquera, all within 20 to 40 miles of the national capital, San Salvador.

Leftist guerrillas are also inflicting heavy casualties on the Salvadorean army and other security forces. On August 7 Deane Hinton, U.S. ambassador in El Salvador, revealed that the Salvadorean government's armed forces, totaling 22,000 men, suffered about 1,300 casualties over the past six months. Since then, the U.S.-backed regime of José Napoleón Duarte has admitted heavy losses in the fighting around Perquin and other parts of the country.

The FMLN's August offensive was combined with attacks on electric power lines, transport and communications that are wreaking havoc on the Salvadorean economy. Over the summer the FMLN destroyed 12 major bridges and

pinning up arms shipments to the FMLN. He refused to acknowledge any gains by the FMLN, saying that they were "desperate" and resorting to "straight terrorism." But, Ambassador Hinton admitted: "The war is getting serious."

## Diplomatic breakthrough

While the FMLN was stepping up the armed struggle within El Salvador, the Frente Democrático Revolucionario (FDR—Revolutionary Democratic Front), the political arm of the liberation movement, gained a major victory in its campaign for international support. On August 29, the Mexican and French governments issued a joint statement recognizing the FDR/FMLN as a "representative political force" that must be included in negotia-

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September 19 is Sunday, working people—quarter million—will Washington, D.C., social progress.

The protest, organized by the labor movement, is being built not only in local areas across the country but also in the cities of rank and file.

There is little question that September 19 will be the most significant day by the U.S. labor movement.

Such a mobilization of working people in the United States, outside unions, Black, white, male and female, and straight—face an and living standards that are ruthless and far-reaching in decades.

This is because the U.S. (and throughout the world) is in a period of trouble. The economy is in a second recession in a decade. Industries—auto, steel, banks—are tottering.

## EDITO

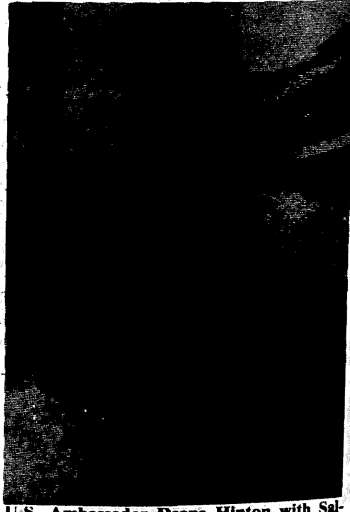
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To try to bail themselves out, the owners and corporations, the bankers of both parties—seek a solution of resources. From poor and working people, the corporations, the banks, general. They aim to do standards of the majority to boost the profits of

Reagan has only just taken so far—budget cuts, attempts to crush the unions, etc.—will be followed by attacks. He plans to take millions more out of the services and programs of the unions. He is singling out Blacks and old attack. He plans to take rights won through years of spending billions of dollars in the war machine in a desperate struggle to strengthen the ruling class empire.

## Labor movement weak

In the face of this labor movement is in poor shape. The few unions represent less than 10 percent of the U.S. workforce. The few gains which have been made are being eroded more often than



U.S. Ambassador Deane Hinton with Salvadorean air force officer.

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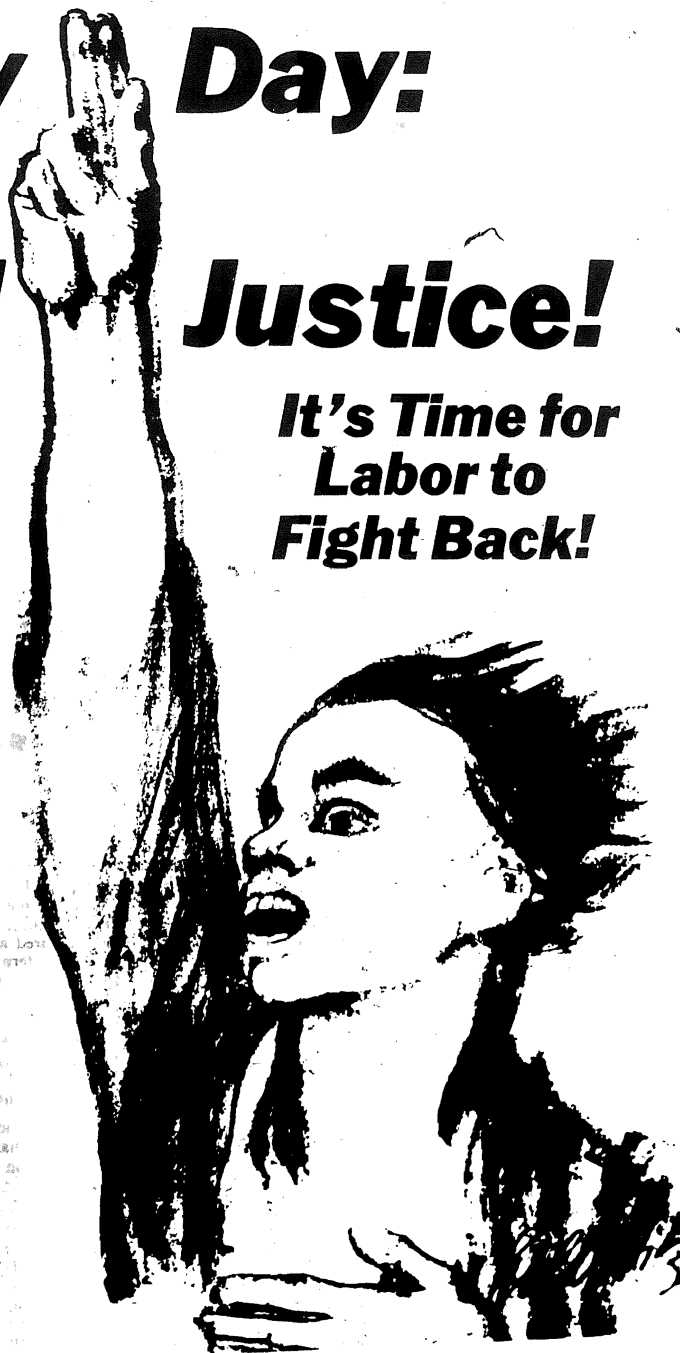
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# Solidarity Day: We Demand Jobs and Justice!

## It's Time for Labor to Fight Back!



September 19 is Solidarity Day. On that day, working people—perhaps as many as a quarter million—will march in the streets of Washington, D.C., for jobs, justice and social progress.

The protest, organized by the AFL-CIO, is being built not only by hundreds of union locals across the country, but also by civil rights and women's organizations and thousands of rank and file activists.

There is little question but that Solidarity Day will be the most significant mobilization by the U.S. labor movement in many years.

Such a mobilization is certainly needed. Working people in this country—inside and outside unions, Black, Latin, Asian and white, male and female, old and young, gay and straight—face an assault on their rights and living standards that is more systematic, ruthless and far-reaching than anything seen in decades.

This is because the capitalist system in the U.S. (and throughout the world) is in deep trouble. The economy is heading into its second recession in two years. Major industries—auto, steel, housing, even the banks—are tottering on the brink of col-

people have been laid off in auto, steel and other industries—and the labor movement has done little to save these jobs.

The result is that the unions are losing members. Many laid-off workers remain unemployed. Others have been forced to take jobs in factories and offices where there are no unions (and at significant cuts in pay, benefits and protection). In addition, union consciousness among many organized workers has declined over the past years, while the unions themselves are isolated from large sections of the population, including from many working people who know little about unions and who fall victim to anti-union propaganda.

### Time to fight back

Faced with these conditions, it is clearly time—more than time—for the labor movement to be to fight back. This is why the Solidarity Day march is so important:

But a single march will hardly be enough. Solidarity Day must only be a beginning, a first step in a well thought out campaign to organize a powerful fightback against the growing capitalist attacks.

If this fightback is to be effective, if it is to have any chance of seriously preparing and organizing working people to resist the growing anti-labor offensive, it is essential that the union movement break with certain past policies, policies which have led directly to its current weakened state.

Most importantly, the unions can no longer focus narrowly on simply defending their own members. If the labor movement continues to ignore the tens of millions of people outside the unions, and the millions more who are outside of jobs altogether, it will be committing suicide.

For decades, the U.S. labor movement emphasized winning higher wages, better benefits, job security and other protection for its own members. At the same time, it virtually ignored the needs, demands and interests of the millions of working people outside the unions—the unemployed, workers in the lowest paying industries (in particular, women, Blacks, Latins, Asians, undocumented workers—the people who have always been treated like second class citizens in this country).

Following World War II, the labor movement failed to launch the massive organizing drive needed to bring union protection to millions of unorganized workers. Nor did it mobilize its full resources for a determined struggle against racial and sexual discrimination. Similarly, it tended to avoid, if not oppose, struggles against environmental destruction, nuclear energy, militarism and other threats to the lives of working people.

In today's conditions, workers in unions will not be able to defend themselves unless they fight for all working and oppressed people. The labor movement's watchword must be solidarity—solidarity not just among unions and union members, but among all working people in this country and throughout the world.

This means that the unions must take the lead in building a mass social movement that can mobilize all working and oppressed people against the capitalist attacks. While this should include a campaign to organize the unorganized, it must also involve struggles on every front of the corporate offensive.

The union movement must support the striking air traffic controllers—not with words and gestures, but with serious and determined action. It must defend the Philadelphia teachers who are being jailed for picketing. It must come to the aid of and defend all striking workers, regardless of what union or industry they are in.

The labor movement must also begin to fight against the right wing's racist and sexist offensive, the cuts in social services, the tax breaks for the corporations and the rich, the military buildup and U.S. support for reactionary regimes in South Africa, El Salvador and elsewhere. It must support each and every struggle of working people and oppose each and every attack, no matter how distant it may seem or how much it may appear to be "someone else's battle."

This is the road to working class unity

against the capitalist offensive. If this unity is not built, if Reagan and his allies are allowed to pick off separate groups and keep people divided, the towel may as well be thrown in before the fight even begins.

### Labor bureaucrats seek unity with the Democrats

Unfortunately, the leadership of the U.S. labor movement has sought a different kind of unity over the past years. The unity they have worked to build is not working class unity, but unity between a narrow section of the working class and a section of the capitalist class itself—the liberal politicians and in particular the Democratic Party. They have called this the liberal/labor coalition.

This coalition was built on the basis of a more or less upfront deal: The capitalists would grant wage and benefit concessions to

(Continued on next page)

## EDITORIAL

lapse. Inflation is high. Millions are unemployed. The cities are falling apart. Bad as all this is, far worse is yet to come.

To try to bail themselves out, the capitalists—the owners and managers of the big corporations, the bankers and the politicians of both parties—seek a tremendous redistribution of resources. They are out to take from poor and working people and give to the corporations, the banks and the rich in general. They aim to drive down the living standards of the majority of people in order to boost the profits of the corporations.

Reagan has only just begun to put this program into effect. The measures he has taken so far—budget cuts, tax breaks for the rich, attempts to crush the air traffic controllers, etc.—will be followed by far harsher attacks. He plans to cut wages, throw millions more out of work, slash social services and programs and cripple the unions. He is singling out women, gays, Latins, Blacks and old people for special attack. He plans to take away gains and rights won through years of struggle. And he is spending billions of dollars to build up the war machine in a desperate attempt to strengthen the ruling class's international empire.

### Labor movement weak

In the face of this coming onslaught, the labor movement is in poor shape. Today, the unions represent less than 20 percent of the U.S. workforce. The few organizing campaigns which have been carried out have been defeated more often than not. Millions of

## Despite Myths, Black, Latin and Women Workers Still on the Bottom

While all workers are clearly under the gun of the Reagan administration's offensive, conditions are particularly bad for Black, Latin and women workers both in and out of the trade unions. Recent statistics show that, despite the myth to the contrary, these workers are actually losing ground in their efforts to raise their living standards to equal those of white, male workers. Here are some examples:

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Women workers have entered the workforce in record numbers, and now make up 42.5 percent of the U.S. working population. But according to a study released by the National Research Council (NRC) on September 1, "The work women do is paid less, and the more an occupation is dominated by women the less it pays."

Women entering the jobs market are shunted into low-paying women-dominated job categories. For example, the percentage of women retail sales clerks increased from 48.9 percent of the total workforce in 1950 to 70.7 percent in 1979. Over the same period the percentage of women in office clerical jobs went up from 62 percent to 80.3 percent. But the percentage of women in professional or technical jobs went up only from 40.1 percent in 1950 to 43.3 percent in 1979. Moreover, half of these women actually work in women-dominated fields such as teaching or nursing.

The NRC study estimated that jobs in women-dominated industries paid about \$4,000 a year less than comparable work usually performed by men. Moreover, the gap between women's and men's earnings has increased over recent years. In 1964 women earned, on average, about 64 percent as much as men, but today they earn less than 60 percent.

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The living standards of Latin workers are falling behind those of the working class as a whole. The real wages of full-time Latin workers fell 6.2 percent during the past year, compared to a 1.9 percent drop for all workers. Overall, Latin workers earn

only two-thirds as much as white workers. And in June 1981, 10 percent of all Latin workers were unemployed, compared to a 7.3 percent unemployment rate for all U.S. workers.

But government statistics only begin to reveal the oppressive conditions facing Latin workers in the U.S. Millions of Latins are undocumented workers who do not fill out census forms, apply for unemployment insurance or reveal themselves to the government in other ways out of fear of arrest or deportation. There are estimated to be over 6,000,000 such workers in the U.S. from Mexico alone.

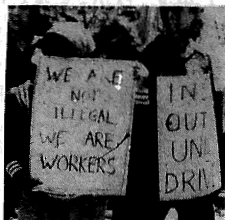
These workers satisfy the ruling class's need for a supply of defenseless, unorganized laborers to do the low-paying, backbreaking jobs U.S. workers will no longer accept. For instance, a Louisiana chicken ranch owner paid a "labor contractor" \$250 apiece to smuggle 11 undocumented workers across the Mexican border. They were forced to work 12 hours a day, seven days a week, for four months to pay off their "transportation debts." Two of them were chained to a chicken coop after they tried to escape. There are tens of thousands of undocumented workers working under similar conditions around the country.

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Black workers have been totally stalemated in their efforts to raise their wages to the level of white workers' earnings. In 1953 Black workers earned 56 percent as much as white workers. Between 1964 and 1969 their wages rose to 63 percent of white income. But by 1980 they had dropped back to 57 percent. In other words, the gains Black workers won in the 1960s have been wiped out. Their living standards remain as far behind those of white workers as they were nearly 30 years ago.

Moreover, Black workers suffer more job-related injuries and illnesses because they continue to be shoved into the worst jobs. A 1978 Social Security Administration report found that Black workers are one and a half times more likely than white workers to be severely disabled by injuries or illnesses. The March 1981 issue of the *Chicago Reporter* cited a study of 59,000 local steelworkers that found that 90 percent of "non-white"—that is, Black, Latin and Asian—workers worked in the dangerous coke ovens, compared to 41 percent of white workers. As a result, the death rate from cancer of the respiratory system is four times higher for Black, Latin and Asian steelworkers than it is for whites.

But the greatest problem facing Black workers, particularly young workers, is that many can find no jobs at all. In June 1981 overall Black unemployment rose to 15 percent—over 1,750,000 workers—compared to a 6.4 percent jobless rate for white workers. And in July the government reported that more than one out of every two Black teenagers was out of work.



# It's Time for La

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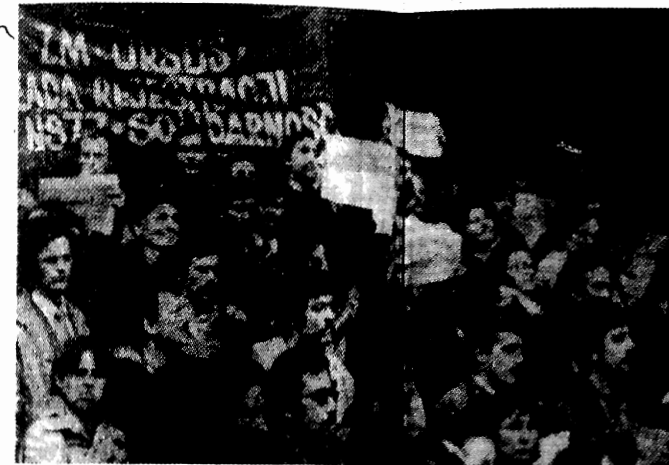
a small (and in most cases, more highly skilled) layer of workers; in return, the unions pledged their undying loyalty to the needs of the system as a whole, used their political muscle to support the Democratic Party and meanwhile ignored the needs of the vast majority of working people.

In essence, this deal has meant that the labor movement has not based its strength on the power of a united and organized working class, but has instead hitched itself to the promises from Democratic Party politicians that they would "look after the interests of labor."

The Democratic Party has long claimed to be the "friend of working people." But this party has been, is and will always be a party of the capitalist class. Its claims to support the interests of working people are a fraud. When the economy was healthy, the Democrats agreed to give some workers a slice of the capitalist profits (and even then, only after some militant battles), in return for their votes and money.

But today, when the system is in crisis, the Democrats support the same kind of attack on working people that the Republicans do. While Reagan and the Republican Party are responsible for the specific forms that the capitalist attacks are taking, the entire ruling class supports the general approach. This includes the Democratic Party.

In the recent sessions of Congress, the Democrats voted for most of the budget cuts demanded by Reagan (they merely made a little stink here and there to make it look like



they opposed the cuts). When it came to tax giveaways to the rich, the Democrats tried to win votes in Congress by offering even greater cuts to "special [that is, business] interests." The current military buildup began under the Carter administration, as did U.S. support for the reactionary junta in El Salvador.

Since the Democratic Party is today out of power and more than a little weakened, some Democratic politicians can afford to sound like they support working people. They can

pretend to oppose many of the things they supported when they were in the House and controlled Congress. But they can claim to be on the side of the needs and rights of the people.

But we should not be fooled by the politicians. The Democrats, like the Republicans, is committed to a fundamental idea that this system is saved by squeezing blood out of the people.

Unfortunately, the present

## Air Traffic Controllers' Strike and Union in Serious Trouble

The strike and lock-out of the Professional Air Traffic Controllers Organization (PATCO) is entering its seventh week as we go to press. The spirits of the strikers remain good, but the prospects of winning anything from the Federal Aviation Authority (FAA) seem poor. Ronald "union-buster" Reagan has been allowed to kick PATCO nearly to death while the big guns of the U.S. labor movement, from Lane Kirkland to William Winpisinger, have stood on the sidelines, limiting their solidarity to occasional cheers for the mortally wounded union.

Last August 6, Reagan fired nearly 12,000 of the controllers after they had been on strike for three days. This was the first mass firing of striking public employees in dec-

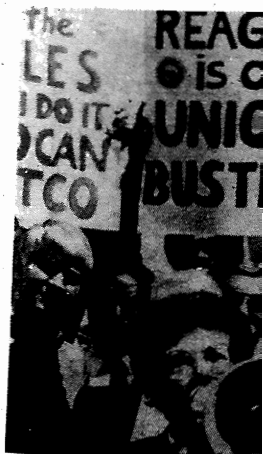
ades. Since then Ronald Reagan has begun spending far more money to punish the air controllers and rebuild the traffic control system than a new contract with PATCO ever would have cost.

Reagan's goal has been to bust the union and make an example of the controllers. He has blocked PATCO members from getting food stamps or unemployment compensation. He has also ordered that federally-insured mortgages taken out by PATCO members be foreclosed if they become delinquent; PATCO members will not be offered the routine back-payment schedule.

PATCO strikers have been harassed and arrested on picket lines. Over 75 workers have been indicted by federal grand juries for

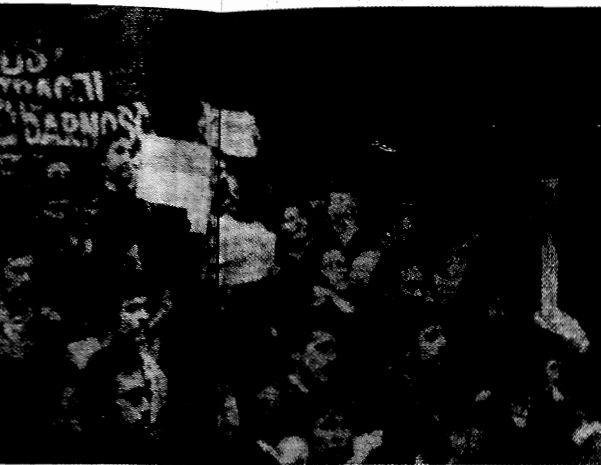
striking. The latest such indictment was on September 9. The administration even extends to PATCO members who have demoralized they are ready to turn away by the FAA September 9.

The administration has assaulted the organization itself just as it has individual members. It has retreated with PATCO since several of the strike began on August 3. It has urged several judges to impose a lock-out on PATCO that far exceed the union's pay. And it got an administration recommendation that PATCO be demoralized, stripped of its right to represent air controllers. This a



Support rally for air controller Cleveland, August 19.

# Time for Labor to Fight Back!



**"The workers of Poland, with virtually no legal rights whatsoever, have demonstrated just how enormous the power of working people is."**

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pretend to oppose many of the same things they supported when they ran the White House and controlled Congress. Out of power, they can claim to be for everyone's needs and rights.

But we should not be fooled. Our allies are not the politicians. The Democratic Party, like the Republicans, is committed to the fundamental idea that this system can be saved by squeezing blood out of working people.

Unfortunately, the present leaders of the

labor movement are using the Solidarity Day March to continue their suicidal policy of looking for salvation from the Democratic Party. Says one AFL-CIO official organizing the march, "If we get 1,700 people out there, those 1,700 are activists who go home and actually work in the congressional districts, Solidarity Day will have been a success." Who are they going to work for in those congressional districts? Liberal Democrats.

The plan to use Solidarity Day to mobilize rank and file unionists in an effort to rebuild

the Democratic Party spells disaster. The labor leaders, blind to what is really going on, hope that by restoring to power their old friends in the Democratic Party, the "good old days" can be brought back again. But those days are gone, for good. Even if the Democratic Party can be put back together again, it will be no friend of working people. As long as the system is in crisis, the Democrats will support attacks on the living standards, working conditions and political rights of workers.

We need our own movement, a movement independent of the Democratic Party, that can fight for the needs of working and oppressed people.

Working people—if they are united—have tremendous power—the power to make the economy run and the power to stop it dead in its tracks. The workers of Poland, with virtually no legal rights whatsoever, have demonstrated just how enormous this power is. But, today, the U.S. labor movement is not using this power.

No more dramatic example can be cited than that of the air traffic controllers' strike. The government has fired an entire workforce and is in the process of crushing a union outright. The labor movement has the ability to stop this blatant union busting.

If other AFL-CIO unions simply honored the PATCO picket lines, if machinists, flight attendants and Teamsters took this single step of working class solidarity, the airports and the entire air traffic system in this country would be shut down in a day. And if that weren't enough to bring the govern-

ment back to the bargaining table, sympathy work stoppages could be organized around the country and Reagan could be warned that a nationwide work stoppage—a general strike—would take place if the government didn't back off from its union busting.

This is just one example of what can be done. But it is possible only if working people are united, educated, organized and mobilized. If the labor movement mobilized its resources—if it explained what is going on to all its members and reached out to the millions of people outside the unions, unorganized and unemployed, in the communities and in the social movements for equal rights and justice—it could use its real power against the capitalist attacks.

Beginning to build this kind of united, mass movement is the task facing the labor movement today.

The stakes are high. Between 1914 and 1945, the ruling classes of the world dragged working people through two world wars, a devastating depression and, in some countries, fascist and Stalinist dictatorships. After a period of stabilization, capitalism is once again taking us down this same road. The labor movement can be the leading force in fighting for an alternative to the destruction and misery which will be imposed on tens of millions of people. Or it can bury its head in the sand, continue to defend only the most narrow interests of a tiny few and look to its own enemies for help. It is truly not an overstatement to say that the choice could very well affect the future existence of humanity. □

striking. The latest such indictment was on September 9. The administration's hard line even extends to PATCO members who are so demoralized they are ready to scab: eight such controllers in Amarillo, Texas, were turned away by the FAA September 7.

The administration has assaulted the union organization itself just as hard as its individual members. It has refused to negotiate with PATCO since several days before the strike began on August 3. It successfully urged several judges to impose fines against PATCO that far exceed the union's ability to pay. And it got an administrative law judge at the Federal Labor Relations Authority to recommend that PATCO be decertified, that is, stripped of its right to bargain and represent air controllers. This amounts to the

destruction of the union.

PATCO has appealed this recommendation and a ruling on the appeal is expected in late September.

As severe as these blows are, none of them would matter or necessarily lead to the defeat of the strike if the air lanes were shut down. But through a variety of measures, the FAA is managing to keep the traffic control system going.

First of all, they have cut air traffic in half during peak hours at the 22 busiest U.S. airports. Any airline with more than two landings per hour at a major airport has been forced to drop flights. The result has been over 11,000 layoffs by the airlines, but only marginal disruption and delays for passengers and goods.

With air traffic so reduced, the FAA's band of supervisors, scabs and military controllers have been able to handle the load. They have been aided by a new control system, developed in secret over the past year, that minimizes congestion in the skies by increasing delays on the ground.

The FAA has officially put the forced flight reductions into effect until April. There are reports, though, that they are telling the airlines to expect restrictions for a full year. At that point the FAA hopes to bring in the first new crop of controllers from the training school, which has now gone on a three-shift schedule.

To help cover the gap, laid-off airline pilots are being hired as temporaries for some of the less specialized tower work. The military, meanwhile, is trying to protect its butt by boosting the re-enlistment bonus for army and air force controllers by \$7,000, to \$16,000.

Although PATCO itself did not have the power to shut down the air system and defeat Reagan, there was no good reason why PATCO was left to fight the battle alone. Even the conservative British magazine the



PATCO contingent in New York Labor-Day march.

Torchphoto/W. E. Schweizer

*Economist* was amazed at the inaction of other U.S. unions.

"No other western labour movement," writes the *Economist*, "is in such a sorry state as the American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations. The AFL-CIO, whose executive was meeting in Chicago on August 3rd when the strike started, has hardly raised a finger to help . . . If the machinists (who service aircraft) or the pilots had shown solidarity with the controllers then Mr. Reagan would not have had things all his own way. Instead, he could have been faced with a shutdown of all the country's airports." (August 29, 1981)

In fact, not one union in the U.S. asked its members not to cross PATCO picket lines except as consumers. The National Association of Letter Carriers and the American Postal Workers Union each sent PATCO \$5,000. Two federal employee unions lent legal help to fight decertification. The Com-

munication Workers of America sent \$100,000 to a fund for strikers' families. There were other, smaller acts of solidarity for PATCO from various locals around the country. These are all good, but the real power of the union movement is the power to strike, and that's what could have made a difference.

Today, the leadership of PATCO denies that the strike is in bad shape, and seems to be encouraging rumors of a deal being worked out with the FAA. It was faith in such deals—specifically a campaign promise by Reagan to improve conditions for the controllers—that helped lead to the present situation. We see no serious evidence that Reagan is ready to offer a compromise.

The one time so far that details of a possible agreement have appeared in print was in a September 8 *Wall Street Journal* article by Joann Lublin. An anonymous (Continued on next page)



Support rally for air controllers' strike in Cleveland, August 19.

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# New York Coalition Organizes Support for PATCO Workers

By W.E. SCHWEIZER

Since the controllers' strike began in August, a coalition in New York has been organizing support for the striking workers. The Coalition to Defend the Air Traffic Controllers and to Stop Reagan's Union Busting is made up of rank and file unionists from around the city and several political groups, including the Revolutionary Socialist League, Workers Power, the Revolutionary Unity League and the Revolutionary Workers League.

The RSL initiated the coalition because we saw the immediate necessity of defending the controllers. If Reagan succeeds in smashing PATCO, it will be a green light for every politician and boss to attack every other union. And it would strengthen the hands of those right-wing forces who not only want to smash the unions, but drive Black people back to near-slavery, women back to the kitchens, gays and lesbians back to the closet, etc.

The coalition began as a group to organize a demonstration to protest the firing of the controllers and to support PATCO. However, after the demonstration, people in the coalition decided to continue

working together to defend the controllers. The next week the coalition organized a rally of 80 people outside the New York Central Labor Council's (CLC) August meeting.

Inside the meeting a supporter of the coalition introduced a motion to have the CLC organize a mass rally and educational campaign, call on its member unions to honor the PATCO picket lines, and call

on the national AFL-CIO to organize sympathy actions, including a general strike if necessary, to defend PATCO.

This motion was tabled, but later the CLC did call a rally on September 1 to defend PATCO. The coalition built support for it and distributed a brochure that explained the necessity for rank and file workers to build a movement to demand the unions act to defend



Torchfoto/W. E. Schweizer

Coalition of groups greets Ronald "union-buster" Reagan in New York City, on Labor Day.

PATCO.

The Coalition to Defend the Air Traffic Controllers also took the lead in putting together a larger coalition which organized the dem-

onstration against Reagan in New York City on Labor Day.

Anyone interested in the coalition should call (212) 695-6802, or write c/o the Torch/La Antorcha. □

## Controllers...

(Continued from previous page) AFL-CIO official is reported as saying that the decertification of PATCO "may be the key to breaking the logjam." Lublin reports that Kenneth Blaylock, head of the American Federation of Government Employees (AFGE) has acted as PATCO's representative in secret talks while Donald Devine, of the government's Office of Personnel Management, has represented the FAA. Lublin quotes an AFGE public spokesman as saying, "The administration is hopeful that if they bust the union, they can

open their arms to the people who remain." But even then, the official said, the FAA would refuse to hire 2,500 hard-core union people.

This is no deal; this is Reagan's vultures picking the meat off PATCO's dead body.

Unfortunately, the PATCO leadership is not only chasing the mirage of a deal, they are opposing small steps that have been taken on the alternate route, the route of mass strike support actions. On Labor Day, President Reagan visited New York City. At that time, the Coalition to Defend the Air

Traffic Controllers and Stop Reagan's Union Busting and other groups organized a demonstration against Reagan that was held after the Labor Day march.

PATCO officials explicitly forbade any of their members to go, apparently for fear of offending the president and undermining the supposed possibilities of working out a deal.

The effect of Reagan's nearly completed victory over PATCO will go far beyond the air industry. The strike was the first major showdown between the administration and the labor movement. The fact that PATCO members got their heads cut off is bound to intimidate other Reagan victims and make it harder to organize a fightback.

In addition, the example of presidential union busting makes legitimate and respectable the union-busting offensive that has been going on for several years in private industry. It specifically encourages attacks on public employees, who have been unionizing in increasing numbers. In a first sign of the kind of thing we'll be seeing, the school board in North Providence, Rhode Island, announced on September 13 that the 240 teachers on strike there must either report immediately and work without a contract or be fired.

More explicitly, Ida Reid, a member of a parents' group organizing against the current teacher strike in Philadelphia asked: "If Reagan can break the controllers, why can't Mayor Green break the teachers' strike?" □

## LABOR IN STRUGGLE

### Southern unionizing drives falter

August 27 was a bad day for union organizing efforts in the South. On that day, three out of four unions holding organizing drives in the Carolinas lost representation elections. Workers at the J.P. Stevens denim fabric manufacturing plant in Rock Hill, South Carolina, voted 433-299 to reject the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union as their bargaining agent. The election was the first held at a Stevens plant since the Amalgamated won representation at 10 company plants last October and marks a serious defeat for the union. But Amalgamated leaders insist that they will keep up their fight to unionize Stevens. They claim that unions often win representation in the South only after two or three elections, and that they are encouraged by the 40 percent pro-union vote at Rock Hill.

In other elections the International Brotherhood of Teamsters lost its representation bid at the Fiber Industries plant in Salisbury, North Carolina, by a 1,107-777 margin, and the United Auto Workers lost votes at four Dana-Wix plants in North Carolina in a 904-637 vote. However, workers at a Johns Manville plant in Laurinburg, North Carolina, did vote 83-80 to accept the United Rubber Workers as their bargaining agent.

In a related struggle, union-busting politicians in North Carolina are trying to railroad Wilbur Hobby, president of the North Carolina AFL-CIO, into jail. Hobby is under federal indictment for allegedly embezzling \$45,000 from a federal job training program involving a company he owns. In fact, Hobby returned the money after the program was completed.

The campaign against Hobby is directed by North Carolina's ultra-conservative Senator Jesse Helms. Helms' political organization, the Congressional Club, has spent thousands of dollars attacking Hobby in radio and television ads. Hobby became a prime target of the

right wing after he supported union organizing drives and allowed supporters of the Equal Rights Amendment and civil rights activists to use his offices as a base. His trial was scheduled to begin in August, but was postponed after he was hospitalized with a back ailment.

### Illinois miners fight union busting

Members of the United Mine Workers union (UMW) are waging a militant fight against union-busting coal companies in Illinois. Nearly 15,000 miners staged a statewide one-day wildcat strike on August 18 to protest the Kerr-McGee Coal Corporation's plan to build a non-union mine near Galatia. Over 2,000 miners fought a three-hour battle with police and members of the Illinois National Guard at the construction site. The miners tore down a two and a half mile fence surrounding the site and set fire to buildings, vehicles and piles of construction material. They were finally forced to retreat after two National Guard helicopters, circling just above the demonstrators, dropped tear gas grenades. Since then the courts have banned demonstrations and mass pickets at the construction site.

Illinois miners correctly see the struggle against Kerr-McGee as critical for the entire UMW. Since 1974 the percentage of union-mined coal in the U.S. has dropped to 44 percent of total production, largely because of expanding non-union strip mining operations in the West. But until now the East and Midwest have remained UMW strongholds. In Illinois itself 97 percent of the miners are UMW members.

But over the past two years Kerr-McGee and three other non-union firms, the Turriss Coal Company, the Arco Coal Company, and Mapco Coals Incorporated, have begun developing mines in Illinois. Both Kerr-McGee and Mapco have already said they will hire non-

union miners when construction is completed.

UMW officials fear that if these efforts succeed, other Eastern coal companies will join the union-busting campaign. UMW leader Tony Kujawa declared, "It's do-or-die for the UMW in Illinois. If they whip us here, they'll figure they can whip us anywhere."

### Philadelphia teachers strike

The Philadelphia school system was shut down by a strike by 21,000 teachers and non-teaching aides on September 9. According to Mark Hoffman, a building representative in the Philadelphia Federation of Teachers, the walkout "could last till Christmas."

The strike is really a continuation of a struggle between the teachers and the Philadelphia Board of Education that began last year. In September 1980, after a 22-day strike, Philadelphia teachers won a contract that included a no-layoff clause and promises of a 10 percent wage increase in 1981. But in May the Board announced it faced a \$223 million deficit. Then on August 31 Mayor William Green demanded that the teachers give up their wage increase and accept 3,500 layoffs to make up the deficit. The next day the teachers voted to strike by a 4-1 margin.

Although teachers' strikes are illegal in most states, in recent years teachers around the country have increasingly walked off their jobs to win decent contracts. This year, in the wake of President Reagan's firing of striking PATCO workers in August, many city officials are following his example and threatening to fire striking teachers. For instance, in North Providence, Rhode Island, over 200 striking teachers were forced back to work on September 14 after the local School Committee threatened to fire them. And on September 7, 5,000 Boston teachers postponed for two weeks a walkout scheduled to start the next day, following School Superintendent Robert Spillane's warning that he would fire strikers.

—PB

# Polish Workers Challenge Rulers' Power



Torchphoto/W. E. Schweitzer

Reagan in New York

Reagan in New York  
Labor Day.

Reagan in New York  
Labor Day.  
Reagan in the coalition  
(695-6802, or write  
La Antorcha. □

Reagan in New York  
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Once again a showdown appears to be looming in Poland between the country's dynamic workers' movement, organized into the independent trade union Solidarity, and the state-capitalist ruling class, led by the inappropriately named Polish United Workers Party (PUWP).

At the opening phase of Solidarity's first national congress in early September, the 892 delegates approved a series of resolutions that stop just short of being a direct challenge to the existence of Poland's "red bourgeoisie" and to Russian neo-colonial domination of the country and the rest of Eastern Europe. These include:

• A public message to workers in other Eastern bloc nations who may be trying to form their own independent unions.

The message reads, in part: "We support those of you who have resolved to enter the difficult path of struggle for an independent trade union movement." This is the first time that the union as a whole has reached out to workers of Eastern Europe and Russia as its allies.

• A call for a nationwide referendum on workers' self-management of the factories and enterprises. The workers want the right to choose their own managers, set their own production goals and schedules, and establish their own wage rates.

The Polish parliament (Sejm) is currently proposing a limited and vague form of self-management, which would exclude Poland's largest enterprises as well as any industry the government deems to be of strategic importance. The *Wall Street Journal* reports that Solidarity is for excluding only those industries "linked to national security, such as railways, telecommunication centers and arms industries," though it is not clear whether such exemptions were part of the congress resolution.

## Demands for free elections

• A call for "free and unrestricted" elections to the Sejm and other legislative bodies.

The Solidarity resolution argues that it has been "impossible for the community to demonstrate its will." Currently, all candidates—if they can be called that—in both national and local elections must be approved by a body called the National Unity Front. In fact, the front, which is thoroughly dominated by the PUWP, handpicks a list of candidates, one for each opening.

It is known that the government was prepared to allow some Solidarity-sponsored candidates on this official list. But the union delegates understood that this would not give the Polish people any more control over the government. Instead the delegates demanded a system whereby any group or individual could run for any office, allowing the voters to choose among them. It is generally accepted that the PUWP would be soundly thrashed in such an election.

A motion to the congress to delete a clause in the union's constitution recognizing the leading role of the PUWP in Polish society was

defeated. However, the congress did call for defining that role more closely.

• In addition to these three ground-breaking resolutions, the union's congress also called for "social control" over the mass media; freedom for political prisoners; for Poland's true history to be taught in the schools and in textbooks; and union involvement in decisions about the production and distribution of food.

Taken together, these measures

**"I have the feeling that I'm participating in a rally in Moscow or St. Petersburg in 1917 when Lenin exhorted the workers councils and soldiers to take power. We are realizing the slogans that the human race has been waiting for."**

— Jan Rulewski, radical Solidarity leader

represent a major escalation in Polish workers' struggle—as the final document to come of the first phase of the congress put it—"a life free from poverty, exploitation, fear and lies in a democratically organized and self-governing society." Previously many Solidarity officials had argued that theirs was a trade union movement, primarily dedicated to improving the living standards of its members. Now the union has openly entered Poland's political arena, raising the struggle to a new level.

Even more importantly, the congress resolutions point toward the destruction of Polish state capitalism. A program of true workers' self-management would strip the Polish ruling class of its stranglehold on economic power. Free elections would undoubtedly deny it political power as well. While the congress did not state these as its goals, it doesn't take very much to be able to dot the i's and cross the t's on the congress resolutions and realize that the system could not survive the changes intact.

## Polish economy falling apart

The context for this latest escalation of the class struggle in Poland is the rapid disintegration of Polish state capitalism.

Economically, Poland is perched on the edge of collapse. The government claims that the main reason for this is the many strikes waged by Polish workers over the last year. But the country's economists admit that past government policies are to blame. According to the *New York Times* of August 31:

"The economists say that the primary cause of the disaster is to be found in the 10 years of mismanagement under Edward Gierek, the former party [PUWP] leader, which left Poland broke and in debt to the tune of \$27 billion. The main reason factories are not productive is not labor problems, but shortages of spare parts and raw materials from a dearth of hard currency."

With their system in such dire economic straits, the Polish government would normally try to do

what capitalists everywhere try to do in such situations—increase the rate of exploitation of the workers. Specifically, the bureaucrats who run Poland would like to cut back on the import of food and other social necessities as a way of preserving needed foreign exchange for industrial equipment. And they would like to step up coal production, one of the country's leading exports and sources of hard currency.

But these are not normal times in

while, Solidarity, which formally holds no power in the Polish state, is seen by many if not most Poles as their authoritative representative.

Membership statistics tell part of the story. Presently nearly 10 million Polish workers belong to Solidarity. In addition, many farmers, sections of the middle class and intelligentsia, and a majority of the army's rank and file are sympathetic to Solidarity. Given that Poland's population is only 35 million, it is safe to say that at least 50 percent of adult Poles look to Solidarity for leadership—and that is probably a low figure.

The PUWP, on the other hand, has lost some half million members in the last year and is currently less than one-third the size of Solidarity.

"An anecdote in *Newsweek* graphically tells another part of the story:

"Only a few miles west of Gdansk, the Polish government has put up signs warning bathers not to swim in the polluted waters of the Baltic. Other signs were placed alongside them this summer by Solidarity. The message was exactly the same: no swimming. In the year since the founding of Solidarity, government credibility has sunk so low that even official health warnings are suspect."

In fact, what has developed in Poland is the existence of two centers of power: a government that few people in the country respect or want, and a union—actually, a mass workers' movement—that holds the allegiance of the vast majority. Or, put another way, Polish workers and their allies have realized that they do all the work that keeps Poland running, that they have and are the power, if they choose to exercise it.

Insofar as the government, the PUWP and the other institutions of the state apparatus continue to rule Poland, it is because the workers have not risen up and done away with them. But the workers are eroding the power of the state-capitalist ruling class in every way possible. And they have begun to set up some potential organs of their own rule: the union and the workers' self-management committees, and an extremely effective communications network, complete with intra-union and public bulle-

tins, newspapers, etc.

This situation—where one force continues to hold nominal state power but is thoroughly without popular support, while another force, an organized opposition movement, has the allegiance of the majority of people and is the effective governing power—is known as dual power.

By its very nature dual power is a highly unstable situation. Both sides seek to maximize their power and control at the expense of the other; at some point, one of the two gains the initiative, strips the contending force of its power, and consolidates its own rule. In the case of Poland, this means if the workers, small farmers and their allies throughout society do not overthrow the state and establish their own political rule, the state-capitalists, through a variety of means, will regain control and smash the mass movement.

There should be little doubt but that the Polish rulers, whatever they may say to the contrary, are aware that the dual power situation cannot continue forever and are determined to end it in their own interests.

## Moderate and radical factions

Within the workers' movement, however, particularly inside Solidarity, this issue has become one of intense debate. And despite the militant resolutions to come out of the congress and the appearance of unity, Solidarity is in fact split into a "moderate" and a "radical" wing on the tasks of the union and the movement as a whole in the coming period.

The more moderate faction is led by Solidarity head Lech Walesa. Walesa and his supporters oppose a perspective of the workers taking over the whole of society for themselves. Fearful that such a revolution (which is what it would be) would provoke the Russians to invade, Walesa has generally advocated an approach that amounts to trying to make the dual power situation permanent, summed up in the phrase used by the moderates: (Continued on next page)

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# Polish Workers

(Continued from previous page)  
"a self-limiting revolution."

Walesa is arguing that the workers' movement should cooperate with the Polish government to try to put the economy back in working order. This involves trying to make a deal with the Polish ruling class: If the government grants various democratic reforms and allows Solidarity some degree of control over the economy—through, for example, joint worker/management factory councils, representation in the Sejm, etc.—Solidarity will urge the workers to go back to work and press them to cooperate with local management in taking steps to increase productivity and rationalize the economy. In fact, this deal has been more or less openly broached to the government.

According to the August 23 New York Times: "For weeks, the nation's soldier-Prime Minister Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski, and his Emergency Minister, Gen. Czeslaw Piotrowski, have been insisting that sagging coal production must be lifted if Poland is to get out of its economic quagmire. At Katowice [an industrial center in southern Poland, and the key coal producing region] Solidarity answered these appeals with an unstated bargain: It would try to put Silesia's rebellious miners back on something like a six-day week in exchange for a say in running the economy."

The Times adds, significantly: "The deal is one that could be applied across the economy if Solidarity and the state could end their sparring and forge some form of partnership."

If one inserts the word "leaders" after Solidarity, these statements convey precisely what Walesa's plan really is.

But this plan is not backed by all members of Solidarity. All reports indicate that there is a section of the Solidarity leadership as well as many rank and file workers who favor a resolution of the dual power situation in the workers' favor. As radical leader Jan Rulewski, leader of the Bydgoszcz local of Solidarity, puts it: "I have the feeling that I'm participating in a rally in Moscow or St. Petersburg in 1917 when Lenin exhorted the workers councils and soldiers to take power. We are realizing the slogans that the human race has been waiting for."

In fact, the issue of dual power was the thread running through almost all the debates at Solidarity's national congress.

It figured most prominently in two disputes. The first is the question of whether Solidarity should be centralized or decentralized. Walesa's plan requires that Solidarity be a strong, centralized organization through which the leadership can control and discipline the rank and file workers. He cannot get the ruling class to accept a deal with him unless he can show he can carry out his side of the bargain—that is, get people back to work, have them cooperate with management, etc. So, he needs a strong apparatus, centralized in his hands, capable of controlling the rank and file. On this question, Walesa got his way. On the last day of the congress, the delegates passed a resolution that would create a strong central power which, as the Wall Street Journal describes, would give him the power to "prevent chaos in the union" and "veto ill-guided regional strike plans, currently being called by local union leaders."

But this resolution followed "two days of bitter infighting and thwarted a campaign led by Solidarity radicals Rulewski and Zbigniew Bujak of Warsaw to weaken the national body's power in exchange for more regional autonomy," also according to the Wall Street Journal.

## Solidarity debates strategy

The question of whether Solidarity should cooperate with the government to restore the economy was also debated at the congress, although a formal decision on this was put off until the second phase of the congress, scheduled for September 26.

The two sides of the dispute can be summarized by the following statements: Andrzej Cilinski, one of Walesa's chief advisors, puts his case this way: "Solidarity must propose some economic program, and this will have to be done with some cooperation of the government." But Andrzej Gwiazda, an electronics engineer whom the Wall Street Journal calls "the second in command of Poland's Solidarity," and one of Walesa's chief opponents on the centralization/decentralization dispute, says: "It's impossible to set up any working economic system under the current doctrine. All sensible economic

conceptions contradict the ideology of the government." (Wall Street Journal, 9/8/81)

Our guess is that Walesa will maintain his leadership of Solidarity and get it to formally adopt his point of view. The Polish government, meanwhile, is likely to move to accept some sort of deal, screaming and maneuvering all the way.

Whether this will solve Poland's economic crisis, prevent the Russians from invading, and increase the rights and power of the Polish workers and farmers is another question altogether. While it may ward off the Russians (they have little to gain and a lot to lose by

invading) we doubt it will solve Poland's economic troubles. All over the world—Britain, France, Germany, the U.S., Russia, China, etc.—the capitalist system is in crisis. Some level of workers' co-management in a decrepit state-capitalist economy caught in the maelstrom of a world economic crisis is not likely to work.

And as the economic situation deteriorates, the at-best meager chances of any long-term sharing of power between the Solidarity leadership and the state-capitalist bureaucracy drop precipitously. In particular, it is one thing to pass some resolutions at a congress and

another thing to actually control the Polish workers—prevent strikes, factory occupations, let alone actual uprisings—when food prices go through the roof and the food itself can only be obtained by waiting on lines four hours a day, if at all.

In our view then, the present dual power situation in Poland has to be resolved one way or the other. It will not, and cannot, continue forever. If the workers and farmers do not seize power and take over the entire country themselves, the Polish bureaucrats, with or without the help of their Russian sponsors, will eventually coopt or smash their movement. □

# South Africa

(Continued from page 9)

some Afrikaner politicians, have begun to join the small group of traditional capitalists (of English descent) in favoring minor reforms of the apartheid system in the hopes of heading off the Black movement and creating "labor peace."

Today, Black workers make up 70 percent of all workers and 23 percent of all skilled workers. They are the people who create the wealth of the ruling class.

But the political strength of the white rulers comes from the support of the Afrikaner middle class and petty bourgeoisie, including the white workers. These whites are fearful of any reforms, no matter how small, in the apartheid system. As a result, for the first time in over 55 years, Afrikaner unity has been seriously shaken.

There are now three political groupings to the right of Prime Minister Pieter Botha, who has been a proponent of preserving white rule by a mixture of repression and minor reforms. One of those is the Verkramptes faction of Botha's own National Party. These people want fewer reforms slower.

Another group has actually broken away from the Nationalists. What is now the Herstigte National Party wants a rollback on reforms and a policy of straight repression against Blacks. Finally, there is the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging, an outright Nazi organization. It favors fascist white dictatorship to rule ruthlessly over the Black majority. In this state all whites are to obey commands of a supreme leader for the good of the white race.

In the whites' last election, the Herstigte National Party took 13

percent of the vote. Fearful of losing his base, Botha decided he had to adapt to them or politically die. As a result, the South African regime has lurched to the right over the past few months. The government arrested more than 57 Black trade union leaders in May and June. It has also issued more than 700 banning orders (house arrests), shut down Black newspapers and forced a white liberal editor out of a major newspaper. Most recently, on September 6, 205 Black unionists in East London were arrested and are being held without charges for three months.

The South African government's rightward shift has received a

particular boost from the United States government. Reversing Carter's policy, the Reagan administration has stopped pressuring South Africa to hide the worst aspects of apartheid with small reforms. Instead, it has declared that "It is not our task to choose between black and white" in South Africa and that Reagan "has no intention of destabilizing South Africa in order to curry favor elsewhere."

But South Africa has never been destabilized by the U.S. The U.S. imperialists have loyally supported the apartheid regime for decades. It has been and is today the Black people who are destabilizing South Africa by fighting to destroy the racist system. And on a thousand fronts, the struggle to drive the white rulers into the sea is gaining ground every month.

—WF

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